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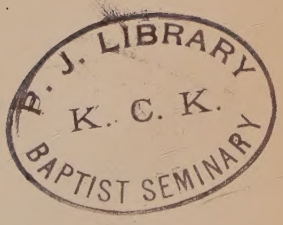

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A TREATISE

ON

THE USE OF THE TENSES IN HEBREW

AND SOME OTHER SYNTACTICAL QUESTIONS

BY

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RESERVED BOOK

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND IMPROVED

Oxford

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PREFACE

THE present small volume was designed originally—in 1874—as an attempt to supply what had for long appeared to me to be needed in England by the student of Hebrew—a systematic exposition, upon an adequate scale, of the nature and use of the Hebrew tenses. The subject is an important one, and is beset by many and peculiar difficulties. In Hebrew, as in most other inflexional languages, the verb is a flexible and elastic instrument, the smallest movement of which alters the character of the scene or fact which it pourtrays; and hence, without a vivid sense of the difference between its principal parts, the full power and beauty of the language can be but imperfectly appreciated. At the same time, Hebrew has but two tenses at its disposal: each of these therefore has practically to cover the ground occupied in an Aryan language by half a dozen or more distinct formations, every one denoting a fresh relation of time or mood. With an instrument of such limited resources, it might be expected that insuperable difficulties would arise: but such is the skill with which it is handled, that to the reader who has mastered the principles of its use, and perceives it to be regulated by law, the ceaseless variation of tense, instead of being a cause of confusion, will seem a most telling and expressive feature. Indeed the capacity for rapid transitions thus produced constitutes an element of force almost peculiar to Hebrew: and though doubtless there are passages on which some degree of uncertainty must rest, the conditions

3015

imposed by the context, interpreted in the light of parallel constructions, will usually reduce it within narrow limits.

There are, however, many obstacles to be overcome before the true nature of the tenses can be realized. In the first place there is the influence of our own language. This has been familiar to us from childhood; it constitutes the framework of our thoughts; it has determined for us the forms under which ideas present themselves to our mind; it has impressed upon us its own distinctions and lines of demarcation, at the same time silently ignoring those established by other languages. On the agreement of a verb with its subject in number, a point to which in certain cases the ancient Hebrew attached no importance whatever, we are ourselves sensitive and precise: on the other hand, the difference between *being* and *becoming*, *seyn* and *werden*, εἰμὶ and γίγνομαι has never been fully appropriated or naturalized in English. Accordingly 'I am convinced' has to do duty for πείθομαι as well as for πέπεισμαι, for 'ich *werde* überzeugt' as well as for 'ich *bin* überzeugt;' ἔπειθον differs indeed essentially from ἔπεισα, but so cumbrous is the mechanism which has to be set in motion in order to express the difference, so palpable is the strain to which our language is subjected in the process, that we feel irresistibly tempted to discard and forget it. Similarly, on the distinction of tense, which in Hebrew is fundamental, English, except in the more obvious cases, is comparatively indifferent: and thus we are predisposed to underrate its importance, if not to neglect it altogether.

Secondly, there are the intrinsic difficulties offered by the language itself. Each tense, and particularly the imperfect, seems to unite in itself incompatible meanings, which the reader too often finds resist all his efforts to reconcile with one another, or to derive from a common origin; and the complications superinduced when either is brought within range of the potent but mysterious *waw*, increase his perplexity. And yet it is impossible, if we are right in supposing

language to be the reflex and embodiment of reason, that anomalies such as these can be ultimate and inexplicable: some hidden link of connexion must exist, some higher principle must be operative, the discovery of which will place us at the true centre of vision, and permit the confused and incoherent figures to fall into their proper perspective and become consistent and clear. The difficulties arising from the causes here indicated I had felt forcibly myself, as well as the practical inability to surmount them with the aids usually available by the student; and this treatise was designed in the hope that, whether by contributing towards their solution, or by directing attention to what might otherwise pass unobserved, it might promote, if possible, an intelligent appreciation of the language of the Old Testament. The favourable notice which it has received, both on the Continent and in England, has much exceeded what I had ventured to anticipate; and students of Hebrew have frequently expressed to me their obligations for the assistance which they have derived from it.

The original plan of the work was somewhat enlarged in the second edition (1881) by the addition of a chapter on the Participle, as well as of two fresh Appendices, one treating of an important principle of Hebrew Syntax (Apposition), which had not at that time received generally the prominence that it deserves, the other dealing with two or three other questions, which seemed to offer scope for fresh illustration. The present edition does not differ substantially from the second edition. It is not, however, a mere reprint of it: in numerous places improvements, more or less important, have been introduced[1]; several additional notes have been

[1] The sections in which the improvements have been most material are §§ 39 *α*, *β* (chiefly in arrangement), 161–162, and especially §§ 172 175, 178 (in particular, pp. 228–232), and 190–191 (with the *Obss.*). The notes also have in many cases been enlarged. (I am indebted to Prof. H. L. Strack, of Berlin, for calling my attention to several oversights and misprints.)

inserted[1]; the references have frequently been revised, and, where necessary, more fully explained; while throughout notice has been taken of the fresh exegetical literature of the last ten years. I have also paid more attention to questions of text in the passages cited, than I gave to them in my previous editions. The question, to what extent Hebrew grammar has been artificially complicated by a corrupt text, is one which sooner or later cannot but force itself upon the student's notice. And the more minutely I study the Massoretic text of the Old Testament, the more fully am I persuaded that it presents in many places anomalies of form or construction which cannot be legitimately explained in accordance with the principles of Hebrew (or Semitic[2]) grammar. In some cases it is only the vocalization, in others it is the consonantal text itself, which appears to be at fault. Most of the difficulties connected with the use of the jussive form can, I now believe (§§ 172–175), be overcome, if it be granted that the Massoretic vocalization does not represent the intention of the original authors. In my previous edition, I was induced, by the authority of Philippi, to extend the principle of Apposition to cases where its application becomes forced and unreal; and I do not question now (cf. §§ 190 *Obs.*, 191 *Obs.* 1, 2), that in all these cases we are dealing with a corrupt text (as indeed, in several instances, is attested independently by the LXX)[3]. The aim which I have set myself throughout has

[1] E.g. §§ 120 *Obs.* 2, 198 *Obs.* 1, 199 *Obs.* § 209 is also new. The Index of Texts has likewise been considerably augmented, and includes now, I hope, all passages to which any particular difficulty or interest attaches.

[2] I say Semitic, because a grammatical phenomenon, though isolated in Hebrew, is not necessarily wrong, if it be supported by the analogy of one of the other Semitic languages.

[3] My principles of textual criticism are exemplified more fully than in the present volume in my *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1890): comp. also my review of Workman's *Text of Jeremiah* (1889) in the *Expositor* for May, 1889, pp. 321–337. The Ancient Versions,

been to produce a trustworthy manual, which may be of service as a supplement to the grammars ordinarily used by learners. Had I been writing it now for the first time, I should probably have endeavoured to state the rules more succinctly: but my first edition was published at a time when no satisfactory treatment of the subject existed in English, and tolerably full explanations appeared to be needful. If nevertheless some points should still seem to have been dwelt on too diffusely or repeatedly, I must crave the reader's indulgence on another ground: experience shews me that there are departments of Hebrew syntax in which inexactness and looseness of thought so speedily creep in that it is impossible to be too explicit and particular.

In the selection of proof-passages, my object has been to illustrate and distinguish the varieties of Biblical usage as accurately as possible: but it will of course be understood that there are instances in which a different opinion may legitimately be held respecting either the construction generally, or the precise force of a given tense[1]. To the student who may be interested in tracing a particular use, the number of examples will not probably appear excessive; and others also may be glad sometimes to have the opportunity of judging for themselves how far an alleged custom extends, whether it is really common or only exceptional. Moreover,

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rightly used, are often of great value in the restoration of corrupt or defective passages; occasionally also conjecture, if applied discreetly, may be legitimately resorted to. A selection of the best and most probable restorations, which have received the approval of modern scholars, may be found in the *Variorum Bible* (see p. xv): though it was not in accordance with the plan of this work for the editors to introduce such various readings only as commended themselves absolutely to their own judgment, none were admitted which did not appear to them to deserve consideration beside the existing Massoretic text, and the majority were deemed by them to be decidedly preferable to it.

[1] In cases where commentators are divided, authorities for the rendering adopted have frequently been cited.

a rule is more firmly grasped when it has been seen repeatedly exemplified: and (as has been observed) it may even happen that, in virtue of the common point of view attained by the comparison of numerous instances, passages and constructions appear for the first time in their true light. Another advantage is on the side of textual criticism. On the one hand, an isolated expression, which perhaps excited suspicion, may be justified by parallels thus discovered: on the other, it may be shewn to conflict with some principle established by an extensive induction, to presuppose a signification at variance with the *consistent* usage of the language. Certainly, it is the province of the grammarian to explain (if possible), and not to emend; but in the latter case, a consideration of the text is forced upon him. Instances will be furnished from time to time by the following pages; but, though I have done this more frequently in the present than in the previous editions, I have still not felt it incumbent upon me to inquire uniformly into the textual accuracy of particular citations.

My obligations to previous writers were indicated in the Preface to the first edition. It will be sufficient here to say that, while Gesenius still retains his place as the master of Hebrew lexicography[1], Ewald by his originality and penetration was the founder of a new era in the study of Hebrew grammar; and there is probably no modern Hebraist who is not, directly or indirectly, indebted to him. In the treatment of details, Ewald was indeed liable to be arbitrary and inattentive; but he excelled in the power of grouping the broader

[1] The speculative character of Fürst's philological principles and the boldness with which he puts them to a practical use, render his *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* an untrustworthy guide. Nor can Mühlau and Volck's editions of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* (the latest, 1890) be trusted implicitly; for they contain many questionable etymologies, and often assign arbitrary or hypothetical meanings to the Arabic words quoted.

features of language, and of recognizing the principles which underlie and explain its phenomena. From the numerous exegetical works of Hitzig[1] all may learn: when he is not led astray by a vein of misplaced subtlety—always, happily, visible on the surface—no one has a clearer or truer perception of the meaning of a Hebrew sentence. As a grammarian, Hitzig stands on a level not inferior to that of Ewald; and his writings are the source of much that is best exegetically in more recent commentaries[2]. The few lines which Delitzsch devotes to his memory, in the Preface to the second edition of *Hiob*, p. vi, are a graceful and cordial testimony to his exegetical skill. And by sobriety, fulness of information, and scholarship combined Delitzsch has succeeded in making his commentaries[3] indispensable to every student of the Old Testament. The commentaries of Dillmann[4] are also

[1] *Jesaja* (1833), *Die Sprüche Salomo's* (1858), *Die Psalmen* (1863–5), *Hiob* (1874); and in the 'Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch,' *Jeremia* (ed. 2, 1866), *Ezechiel* (1847), which still retains an independent value by the side of the Commentary of Rud. Smend, which took its place in the same series in 1880, *Die Kleinen Propheten* (ed. 3, 1863, ed. 4, substantially unaltered, ed. by Steiner, 1881), *Das Hohe Lied* (1855), *Der Prediger Salomo's* (1847,—largely excerpted, though without signs to indicate the passages retained, in Nowack's second edition of the Commentary on this book in the same series, 1883), *Daniel* (1850).

[2] Let the reader who makes use of the *Variorum Bible* (p. xv) observe how frequently the combinations 'Hi. De.,' 'Hi. Ke.' occur.

[3] *Genesis* (ed. 5, 1887), *Isaiah* (ed. 4, 1889), *The Psalms* (ed. 4, 1883), *Proverbs* (1873), *Job* (ed. 2, 1876), *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes* (1875). These are all translated into English, that on the Psalms being published by Hodder and Stoughton, those on the other books by T. and T. Clark. The translation of Job is, however, based on the *first* German edition (1864), and consequently lacks many improvements introduced by the author into his second edition.

[4] In the 'Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch;' viz. *Genesis* (ed. 3, 1886), *Exodus and Leviticus* (1880), *Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua* (1886), *Isaiah* (1890), *Job* (ed. 2, 1891).

The 'Speaker's Commentary,' on the other hand, is to be frequently distrusted, especially in matters of philology: several of the contributors,

exceedingly complete and valuable, their author being distinguished both for calm and sober judgment and for sound scholarship. In the exegetical and critical works of my colleague Professor Cheyne[1], though they rest uniformly upon a basis of exact philology, it frequently happens that the philological element, as such, is not the most prominent feature: but the watchful student will not overlook the many fruitful notes on either text or interpretation which his volumes always contain[2].

S. R. D.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
March, 1892.

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for instance, have not yet learnt such a simple principle of Hebrew syntax, as that a noun, in the construct state, does not take the article: see the notes on Ex. 3, 15. Dt. 20, 9. Josh. 10, 12 (ii. p. 56). 1 Chr. 10, 2.

[1] The principal are *The Prophecies of Isaiah* (ed. 3, 1884); *Jeremiah and the Lamentations* in the 'Pulpit Commentary' (exegetical part), 1883, 1885; *Job and Solomon, or the Wisdom of the Old Testament*, 1887; *The Book of Psalms*, 1888; and *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions*, 1891.

[2] See, for instance, the 'Critical Notes' in *The Book of Psalms*, p. 369 ff., and the study on 'The Linguistic Affinities of the Psalms' in *The Origin of the Psalter*, p. 461 ff., as well as various notes in other parts of the volume.

In questions of Semitic philology, the guidance of Nöldeke, where it can be obtained, is invaluable: comp. below, pp. 159 *n.*, 219 *n.*, 220 *n.*, 243 *n.*; and add to the references there given, *ZDMG.*, 1886, p. 148 ff. (on W. R. Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*), 1887, p. 707 ff. (on Wellhausen's *Reste Arabischen Heidentumes*), 1888, p. 470 ff. (on Baethgen's *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*); also his interesting studies on the use of אֵל and אֱלֹהַּ in the various Semitic languages in the *Monatsberichte der Kön.-Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1880, p. 760 ff., and in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the same Academy, 1882, p. 1175 ff.; on the Old-Aramaic Inscriptions from Tema, *ibid.*, 1884, p. 813 ff.; and the philological notes contributed by him to Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften*, 1885; etc. On the late Dr. Wright's *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, comp. below, p. 219 *n.*

CONTENTS

PAGE

List of principal Works referred to by Authors' Names only, or by Abbreviations xiv

Additions and Corrections xvi

CHAP.

I. *Introduction* 1

II. *The Perfect alone* 13

III. *The Imperfect alone* 27

IV. *The Cohortative and Jussive* (the Modal or Voluntative forms of the Imperfect) 50

V. *The Voluntative with Waw* 64

VI. *The Imperfect with Waw Consecutive* . . 70

VII. *Accents* 100

VIII. *The Perfect with Waw Consecutive* . . . 114

IX. *The Perfect and Imperfect with Weak Waw* (the Simple Waw, not Consecutive) 158

X. *The Participle* 165

XI. *Hypotheticals* 174

APPENDIX I. *On the Circumstantial Clause* . . . 195

„ II. *On the Use of the Jussive Form* . . 212

„ III. *On Arabic as Illustrative of Hebrew* . 219

„ IV. *On the Principle of Apposition in Hebrew* 246

„ V. 1. *On the Casus Pendens* 264

2. *On some Uses of the Infinitive with Lamed* 274

3. *Instances of Variation in the Order of Words* 279

4. *On Constructions of the type* יוֹם הַשִּׁבִּיעִי . 281

INDEX I (*Subjects*) 285

„ II (*Texts*) 289

List of principal Works referred to by Authors' Names only, or by Abbreviations.

Böttcher, Fr., *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, 1866.

Comprises the accidence ('Formenlehre') only. A monument of industry, and valuable for occasional reference, but inconvenient for general use.

Ewald, H., *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, ed. 8, 1870.

The *Syntax*, invaluable to the advanced student, has been translated by J. Kennedy, Edinburgh, 1881.

Ges.-Kautzsch (or Ges.-K.), the 25th edition of Gesenius' *Hebräische Grammatik*, enlarged and greatly improved, especially in the syntax, by E. Kautzsch (1889).

An English translation of this grammar, which is now abreast of the present state of philological knowledge, will, it is expected, appear before very long. In the parts covering the same ground, numerous references have been introduced, derived apparently from the previous edition (1881) of the present work.

GGA. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.*

GGN. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten.*

König, F. E., *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, i. 1881.

Vol. ii. containing the treatment of the noun, and the syntax, has not yet (March, 1892) appeared. Especially useful on account of the full discussions of anomalous forms.

Olshausen, Justus, *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, i. 1861.

A masterly work, but lacking the syntax, which the author did not live to complete.

QPB.[3] = *Queen's Printers' Bible* (also called the *Variorum Bible*), ed. 3, 1888, published by Eyre & Spottiswoode, being *The Holy Bible* (A.V.) *edited with Various Renderings and Readings from the best authorities*,—the Old Testament by Prof. T. K. Cheyne and the present writer.

Stade, B., *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Grammatik*, i. 1879.

Convenient and useful. More comprehensive (so far as it goes) than Gesenius-Kautzsch, but not so elaborate as Olshausen or König. The syntax has not yet appeared.

ZATW. = *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, edited by B. Stade.

ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

For Commentaries, see above, pp. xi, xii, and add—

Graf, K. H., *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt*, 1862.

Hupfeld, H., *Die Psalmen übersetzt und ausgelegt*, ed. 3, bearbeitet von W. Nowack, 1888.

Nowack, W., *Die Sprüche Salomo's* (in the 'Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch'), 1883.

Strack, H. L., *Die Sprüche Salomo's* (in Strack and Zöckler's 'Kurzgefasster Kommentar'), 1888.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 19, line 3 from bottom: *for* 15, 11 *read* 85, 11.

P. 23, line 8 from bottom: *for* 11, 12 *read* 7, 12.

P. 33, line 4: *for* 13, 20 *read* 2 Ki. 13, 20.

P. 37, § 33. Add Hos. 13, 11 אתן־לך מלך באפי ואקח בעברתי, where the repeated change of dynasty in the northern kingdom is indicated by the tense employed.

P. 44, note 2, line 2, 2 Chr. 2, 7 has been overlooked (2 Chr. 18, 15 is, of course, merely a transcript of 1 Ki. 22, 16).

P. 49, note 1, line 2: *prefix* ויאמר *to* ברוך.

P. 71, note 3. For the comparison of the Phoenician with the Hebrew vocabulary, A. Bloch's *Phoenicisches Glossar* (Berlin, 1890)—substantially an Index to the Inscriptions published prior to that date—is useful.

P. 77, line 19. It is possible, however, that in Qoh. 5, 14 שֶׁיִּלַּךְ (assuming the punctuation to be correct) may be intended as a real jussive, with the sense 'which he *might* carry away in his hand' (on the analogy of the more usual construction with לְ, § 64); so Ew. § 235^c, Hitzig (though he prefers himself to read שֶׁיֵּלֵךְ), Del., König, i. p. 445.

P. 77, note 2. In the parallel 2 Chr. 5, 2 אָז נַקְהִיל. It must, however, remain an open question whether the punctuation is here correct (cf. § 174), and whether the original pronunciation was not נַקְהֵל, נַקְהִיל: the shorter form is found nowhere else after אז (see Ex. 15, 1 and Nu. 21, 17 אָז יָשִׁיר, Dt. 4, 41 אָז יַבְדִּיל, 1 Ki. 11, 7 אז יבנה, etc.).

P. 100, note. The reader who is interested in the subject may consult also the learned and elaborate study of Ad. Büchler, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwickelung der Hebr. Accente*, 1. Theil (1891).

P. 127, (4) a, line 6: *for* והיו *read* והיה.

P. 141, line 2 from bottom. The passages from Malachi (all ואמרתם) should perhaps rather be referred to § 120, or even to § 133.

P. 157, § 129. Add Qoh. 8, 16 f. (כאשר . . . . וראיתי).

P. 157, note. The 11th edition of Delitzsch's *Hebrew New Testament*, embodying the author's final corrections and improvements, has just appeared (March, 1892).

P. 163, note, lines 1–2. *Dele* the reference to Dan. 8, 12. The perfects here belong rather to line 1 of the same note (p. 162); cf. § 174 *end*.

P. 213, § 171. An anomalous instance of a jussive appears to occur in Qoh. 11, 3 יְהוּא (for יִהְיוּ, from הָוָה: Ges.-K., § 75 rem. 3^e): but perhaps יְהֶוְא (cf. Dan. 2, 41) was intended by the author (Olsh. p. 511). Grätz, however, suggests plausibly שָׁם הוּא (cf. Job 39, 30).

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A TREATISE

ON

THE USE OF THE TENSES IN HEBREW.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.

1. The Hebrew language, in striking contrast to the classical languages, in which the development of the verb is so rich and varied, possesses only two of those modifications which are commonly termed 'tenses.' These tenses were formerly known by the familiar names of *past* and *future*, but inasmuch as the so-called *past* tense is continually used to describe events in the future, and the so-called *future* tense to describe events in the past, it is clear that these terms, adapted from languages cast in a totally different mould from the Hebrew and other Semitic tongues, are in the highest degree inappropriate and misleading. It will be better therefore to acquiesce in the names now generally employed by modern grammarians, and deduced from real and not fictitious or accidental characteristics of the two forms in question, and to call them by the terms *perfect* and *imperfect*[1] respectively.

2. For if we adopt these designations, we shall be continually reminded of the fundamental[2] character of the two

[1] These words are of course employed in their etymological meaning, as signifying *complete* and *incomplete:* they must not be limited to the special senses they have acquired in Greek and Latin grammar.

[2] It will appear hereafter that the term *imperfect* does not in strictness

'tenses,' and be thereby enabled to discern a rational ground for such phenomena as those alluded to, § 1, which, especially to persons who are perhaps more familiar with the languages of modern or classical times, appear when approached for the first time so inexplicable, so contradictory, not to say so absurd. In order properly to understand this fundamental character, we shall have to revert to a distinction which, though not unknown in other languages, has not, until recent years, obtained from Hebrew grammarians the recognition and prominence which it deserves. I allude to the distinction between *order* of time and *kind* of time. In the first place, a particular verbal form may exhibit a given action as prior or subsequent to some date otherwise fixed by the narrative: this is a difference in the order of time. But, secondly, an action may be contemplated, according to the fancy of the speaker, or according to the particular point which he desires to make prominent, either as *incipient*[1], or as *continuing*, or as *completed;* the speaker may wish to lay stress upon the moment at which it begins, or upon the period over which it extends, or upon the fact of its being finished and done: these are differences in the kind of time. Thus, for example, ἔπειθε and πείθει differ in the order or date, not in the kind of action specified: each alike expresses a continuous action, but the one throws it into the past, the other places it in the present. On the other hand, πεῖσαι and πείθειν, μὴ πείσῃς and μὴ πεῖθε differ in kind, not in date; in each the date is equally indeterminate, but the aorist indicates a momentary act, the

correspond to a primary but to a derived characteristic of the tense called by that name. Böttcher in his *Ausf. Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, it must be admitted with greater precision, gives to the imperfect the name of *fiens:* but inasmuch as what is *incipient* is also necessarily *imperfect*, the latter term may be fairly held to express a fundamental attribute of the tense. No sufficient ground therefore seems to exist for abandoning the now usual nomenclature in favour of the new and peculiar term preferred by Böttcher.

[1] Or, viewed on the side of its subject, as *egressive*.

present one that is continuous. Now in Hebrew the tenses mark only differences in the kind of time, not differences in the order of time: i. e. they do not in themselves determine the *date* at which an action takes place, they only indicate its *character* or *kind*—the three phases just mentioned, those namely of incipiency, continuance, and completion, being represented respectively by the imperfect, the participle, and the perfect [1].

3. Thus the 'tenses' in Hebrew, at least as regards what they do *not* express, are in their inmost nature fundamentally distinct from what is commonly known in other languages by the same name: indeed they might almost more fitly be called *moods* [2]. Certainly the difference between various kinds of time is clearly marked in Greek: but then it exists side by side with a full recognition and expression of the other difference, which in our eyes is of paramount importance (as regards *kind* of time we are mostly less sensitive), and which, nevertheless, Hebrew seems totally to disregard. And this is just the novelty with which we are here so struck, —the position occupied in the language by the one distinction that it appreciates, with the consequences which follow from it; and the fact that Hebrew, unlike Greek and most other languages, possesses no forms specifically appropriated to

[1] The distinction here drawn between the two relations, under which every action may present itself, is also insisted on, and further illustrated, by G. Curtius, in his *Elucidations of Greek Grammar* (translated by Abbott), pp. 203–212.

[2] This was the term employed formerly by Ewald; and Hitzig to the end spoke of the perfect as the *first mood*, and of the imperfect as the *second mood*. And in so far as each of the two forms in question seizes and gives expression to a particular phase of an action, 'mood,' suggestive as it is of the idea of *modification*, might seem the preferable term to adopt. Since, however, as we shall see, the Semitic languages developed for the imperfect special modal forms, which still exist in Hebrew, though not in the same perfection they exhibit in Arabic, and as it is convenient to have a separate name for the *genus*, of which these modal forms are the *species*, the more customary titles may be retained.

indicate date, but meets the want which this deficiency must have occasioned by a subtle and unique application of the two forms expressive of kind. Only, inasmuch as an action may of course be regarded under either of the three aspects named above, whether it belong to the past, the present, or the future—a writer may e. g. look upon a future event as so certain that he may prefer to speak of it in the perfect as though already *done*—an ambiguity will arise as to which of these periods it is to be referred to, an ambiguity which nothing but the context, and sometimes not even that, is able to remove. The tenses in Isa. 9, 5 are identical with those in Gen. 21, 1–3: it is only the context which tells us that in the one case a series of events in the future, in the other one in the past is being described. On the other hand, יָרַד Ex. 33, 9 refers to the past, 19, 11 to the future, although the tense does not vary; and יָסוּר שַׁמָּה relating, 2 Ki. 4, 10, to the future, is used two verses previously to describe what happened in the past.

4. This peculiarity, however, is only an extension of what meets us, for instance, in Greek. We are sufficiently familiar with the distinction between ἐλάλησαν (as Acts 16, 32) and ἐλάλουν (as 19, 6): we are apt to forget that a similar distinction may appertain to events in the future as well as in the past. And, further, has not the *exact* date of both the actions quoted to be fixed from the context? Within what limits of time did the action ἐλάλησαν take place? and does ἐλάλουν signify 'they *used* to talk' (over a long period of time), or 'they *were* talking' (at the moment arrived at by the history, or when the writer came upon the scene), or 'they *began and continued* talking' (as consequent upon some occurrence previously described)? 'The imperfect,' it has been said, 'paints a scene:' true, but upon what part of the canvas? upon a part *determined by the whole picture*. And what has just been said we shall find to be pre-eminently true of the tenses as employed in Hebrew.

5. The tenses, then, in so far as they serve to fix the date of an action, have a relative not an absolute significance. It will, however, be evident that, since it is more usual, especially in prose, to regard a past event as completed, and a future event as uncompleted, the perfect will be commonly employed to describe the former, and the imperfect to describe the latter; but this distinction of usage is not maintained with sufficient uniformity to justify the retention of the old titles *past* and *future*, which will now clearly appear to express relations that are of only secondary importance, and only partially true. It is, on the other hand, of the utmost consequence to understand and bear constantly in mind the fundamental and primary facts stated above: (1) that the Hebrew verb notifies the character without fixing the date of an action, and (2) that, of its two forms with which we have here more particularly to deal, one is calculated to describe an action as *nascent* and so as imperfect; the other to describe it as *completed* and so as perfect. Upon these two facts the whole theory of the tenses has to be constructed; and the latter fact, at any rate, will be most readily remembered by the use of terms which at once recall to the mind the distinction involved in it.

6. The use of the Hebrew tenses will be better understood and more thoroughly appreciated if we keep in mind some of the peculiarities by which Hebrew style, especially the poetical and prophetical style, is characterized. One such peculiarity is the ease and rapidity with which a writer *changes his standpoint*, at one moment speaking of a scene as though still in the remote future, at another moment describing it as though present to his gaze. Another characteristic is a love for variety and vividness in expression: so soon as the pure prose style is deserted, the writer, no longer contenting himself with a series, for instance, of perfects, diversifies his language in a manner which mocks any effort to reproduce it in a Western tongue; seizing each individual detail he

invests it with a character of its own—you see it perhaps emerging into the light, perhaps standing there with clearly-cut outline before you—and presents his readers with a picture of surpassing brilliancy and life.

Obs. 1. With what has been said above, compare the opinion expressed, from a very independent point of view, by Bishop Patteson:—'I wish some of our good Hebrew scholars were sound Poly- and Melanesian scholars also. I believe it to be quite true that the *mode of thought* of a South Sea islander resembles very closely that of a Semitic man. . . . The Hebrew narrative viewed from the Melanesian *point of thought* is wonderfully graphic and lifelike. The English version is dull and lifeless in comparison' (*Life*, by Miss Yonge, 1874, ii. p. 475 f.). Again, 'An Englishman says, "When I get there, it will be night." But a Pacific islander says, "I am there, it is night." The one says, "Go on, it will soon be dark;" the other, "Go on, it has become already night." Any one sees that the one possesses the power of realizing the future as present or past; the other, *now*, whatever it may have been once, does not exercise such power' (p. 189). And so, 'the Hebrew's mind (and his speech) moved on with his thought, and was present with the whole range of ideas included in the thought' (p. 505). The time is 'not inherent in the *tense* at all' (p. 476).

Obs. 2. It does not fall within the scope of the present work to discuss at length the origin and structure of the two forms; though some indication of the principal opinions that have been held may not be out of place. The subject is discussed by Dietrich, *Abhandlungen zur Hebr. Grammatik* (1846), pp. 97 ff. (specially on the imperfect); Turner, *Studies Biblical and Oriental* (1876), pp. 338 ff.; Sayce, *The Tenses of the Assyrian Verb* (in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1877); and especially by Dr. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1890), pp. 164 ff.; and on the other side (so far as the imperfect is concerned), by Philippi, *ZDMG.* xxix. 1875, pp. 171–174. In the perfect the resemblance of the third pers. masc. to an adjectival or participial form is evident and generally recognized: the oldest ending of the 3 sing. fem. *-at* is closely akin to that of the ordinary fem. of Arabic nouns: the 3 pl. *-û*[1] is, perhaps, only modified from

[1] The form in יוּ־, found thrice in the O. T. (Dt. 8, 3. 16. Isa. 26, 16), is hardly old: it appears, in fact, to be a *secondary* formation (see Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1884, p. 410 f.), found occasionally in Syriac and Mandaic, and more frequently in later dialects, as that of the Palest. Targums,

the usual pl. form *-ûna* by the omission of the final *-na* (which is dropped also in the st. c. of nouns). In the third person, therefore, the subject is not expressly represented, nor are there any *distinctively* verbal forms: in the second and first persons, on the contrary, the subject is regularly marked by a formative element appended to the base, the pronominal origin of which can hardly be mistaken (*-tā*, *-tem*, evidently akin to אַתָּה, אַתֶּם: and the old Semitic *-kū*, *-nā*, doubtless connected with the *-kī* and *-nū* of אָנֹכִי, אֲנוּ, אֲנַחְנוּ)[1].

In the imperfect, the first and second persons are formed pretty plainly by the aid of pronominal elements, though no longer affixed, as in the perfect, but prefixed, and not attached to a base bearing a concrete signification (participial), but to a base with one that is *abstract*[2], —mostly, indeed, agreeing in form with the infinitive. The origin of the third pers. is not so clear, and two divergent views have found their supporters. The old explanation, which derived the preformative י from הוא, pronounced 'tolerably satisfactory' by Gesenius in his *Lehrgebäude* (1817), p. 274, and accepted by Ewald until 1844, must indeed for valid reasons (Dietrich, 122–126; Turner, 371 f.) be rejected, though voices are still occasionally heard in its favour (see J. Grill, *ZDMG.* xxvii. 434; F. E. König, *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Spr.* i. (1881) pp. 156–9). The later theory of Ewald (*Lb.* § 191ᵃ) that the י is 'weakened from *l* or *n*' (the latter being the regular Syriac form) is likewise open to objection: but the view that a pronominal element still lies hidden in the prefix, alike in Syriac and in the other dialects, is capable of being

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the Jerus. Talm., the *Midrashim*, the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* (5th–6th cent. A.D.), published by Miniscalchi Erizzo; but mostly quite as an exceptional form. Examples: from Syriac, Acts 28, 2 ܦܪܐܘܢ (see also Hoffmann, § 53. 3; Merx, *Gramm. Syr.* p. 333; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* §§ 158 D. 176 E); from the Pal. Targs., the Jer. Targ. of Ex. 16, 1 אתון. Nu. 20, 21 סטון, הוון. 29 חמון, הימינון, בכון. Dt. 32, 16 אקנון. 30 ארגזון, *al.*, Ps. 53, 5 סעדון. 54, 5 קמון. 69, 2 אציקון. 76, 7 דמכון. 77, 17 רתיתון. 78, 58 אקנון. 106, 20 פרגון, *al.*; and esp. in verbs ל״א, as 48, 6. 58, 9 חמון; 60, 9. 62, 10 הוון; 106, 11 חפון; 107, 30 חדון, etc.; from Samaritan, Gen. 19, 2 ואמרון (also the imper. וביתון). 3 ואכלון. 32, 23. In the *Ev. Hier.* there are two instances (*ZDMG.* xxii. p. 491), ܢܛܪܘܢ and ܣܒܪܘܢ. Under the circumstances, the three isolated forms in the O. T. can hardly be original: had the form been in actual use in ancient Hebrew, it is difficult not to think that instances would have been more frequent.

[1] See more fully Dr. Wright's *Comp. Gr.* pp. 164 ff.

[2] A genuine Semitic construction: comp. below, § 189.

placed upon a more defensible basis; and it is accordingly asserted by Dillmann, *Aeth. Gramm.* § 101. 2, and, in particular, by Philippi, *ZDMG. l. c.*, who points, for example, to the traces of old demonstrative roots *ya* and *na* existing in the different Semitic languages[1], and whose arguments are well worthy of consideration. Many recent grammarians have, however, given their assent, more or less pronounced, to the powerful reasoning by which Dietrich, in the Essay referred to above, advocates the originally nominal character of the third person. The line of argument pursued by him may be stated very briefly as follows. Dietrich starts with the remark that it would only be natural to find in the imperfect the two peculiarities observed in the perfect, the presence in it, viz., of a *double mode* of flexion—the first and second persons being compounded with pronouns, the third being formed and declined on the analogy of a noun—and the fact that the ground-form of the tense, the third masc., is not distinguished by any special sign of the person: he next calls attention to the features in which the third imperfect, especially in Arabic, resembles and is treated as a noun—features recognized and noted by the native Arabic grammarians (Wright, *Arab. Gr.* i. § 95), and doubtless forming a strong argument in favour of the theory: in the third place, he collects (pp. 136–151), from Hebrew and the other dialects, numerous examples of the nominal form יִלְקוֹט, יִצְהָר, יִרְיב, יִקוֹם, etc., which, though in some cases even identical with the tense-form, still cannot as a class be derived from it (on account of their varying vocalization, their appearance in Syriac, and for other reasons), but must be regarded as an independent though parallel formation. This form is in use to represent sensible qualities or attributes,—originally, it would seem, as purely mental conceptions, i. e. as abstract (cf. יִתְר, יִעַן), but in practice restricted mainly to the representation of the quality as manifested in some concrete object: hence, as a rule, it designates an object under a specially active or conspicuous attribute, being often employed adjectivally to denote a striking bodily peculiarity or defect, or to provide a name for some plant or animal from a characteristic feature[2].

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[1] As in אֲנִי = *'an* + *ya*: cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.* p. 99.

[2] The *transition* of meaning indicated above is essential to Dietrich's own view of the parallelism between the noun and the tense; the imperfect, with him, denotes primarily an action or state, not (like the perfect) as objectively realized, but as subjectively *conceived*—as assumed, for example, by the speaker, or as desired or viewed by him as conditional or dependent: its concrete application, though predominant, is deduced and secondary.

Dietrich now advances, but with greater reserve (p. 155, *ohne mehr als die Stelle einer Muthmaassung in Anspruch zu nehmen*), a similar explanation for the third fem. As תקטל is not distinguished from יקטל by the usual mark of the feminine, the first step is to shew that cases exist in which the Semitic languages give expression to a difference of gender, not by the normal change of termination, but by having recourse to a different derivative (e. g. masc. *akbaru*, fem. *kubraʸ*). Next, he collects, as before, instances of the substantives created by prefixing ת, pointing out the close resemblance between the various groups of these and the groups formed with י, and indicating the reasons which forbid their being treated as themselves derivatives from the imperfect (pp. 139, 165–171), while at the same time they are plainly parallel to it. The characteristic of this class is to represent an action under the most abstract relation possible: it is thus strongly contrasted with the previous class exhibiting י, and is adapted, in accordance with the principle just established, to mark the opposite gender,—its appropriation for this purpose being probably facilitated by the resemblance of the prefix ת to the ordinary sign of the feminine (cf. Turner, p. 374; Sayce, p. 30; Stade, § 505). In a word, according to Dietrich, out of the double group of nouns, analogous in form, but contrasted in signification, one of uniform formation was selected from each—of course, at a remote period, when both forms were, so to say, more *fluid* than they subsequently remained—and set apart to mark the two opposite genders of the nascent tense. And, in conclusion, the Syriac imperfect in ܢ is shewn to be capable of an explanation in complete agreement with the same theory, being similarly related to a corresponding nominal form in ܢ, existing both in Syriac itself and also in Hebrew.

This hypothesis of the origin of the third pers. is accepted substantially by Böttcher, § 925 (the י not a mark of the person, but of the tense); Merx, p. 199 f.; Koch, *Der Semitische Infinitive* (1874), p. 7; Turner, p. 373 f.; Sayce, *l. c.*, pp. 23–27, 30–32; and Stade, *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Grammatik* (1878), § 478ᶜ. While agreeing on the whole, however, these scholars differ as to details: thus Böttcher expressly disconnects, § 927, the ת of the fem. from the nominal ת, § 547ᵈ, and Stade also considers that it is difficult. Mr. Turner, again, lays no stress on Dietrich's first, or abstract, stage; and Prof. Sayce appears disposed to identify unduly (pp. 29, 33) the form of the third pers. with the base of the first and second. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch* (1861), § 226ᵉ, regarded the explanation of the third pers. as 'still obscure;' Kautzsch, in the 25th ed. of Gesenius' Grammar (1889), § 47. 2, and Aug. Müller, in his *Schulgrammatik* (1878), § 171ᵃ, express themselves in similar terms, although the latter inclines towards Dietrich's view in the case of the masc.

(§ 174[a]). Dr. Wright, however (*Comp. Gr.* pp. 179, 182), thinks that the prefix *ya* must be of pronominal origin = 'one who,' though he is apparently dissatisfied with the parallels cited by Philippi, and admits that he cannot explain it etymologically. The ת of the fem. he supposes (p. 184) to be the same mark of the fem. gender which appears at the end of the oldest form of the 3 sing. fem. in the perfect.

The discovery of the origin of a grammatical form is of the highest value to the comparative philologist, or the student of primitive modes of thought; it does not of necessity throw fresh light directly upon the meaning borne by it in practice, particularly if the period of formation be long anterior to that in which the examples of its use actually occur. In the case before us, either view must be regarded at present as conjectural: the cognate languages do not exhibit the imperfect tense in a form so diverse from the Hebrew as to enable us to perceive, either immediately or by a conclusive inference, the elements of which it is composed; there are probable arguments in abundance, but no crucial fact appears to have been yet produced. The utmost that can be done is to appeal to analogy. Much has been said, for instance, on the originally *abstract* character of the third imperfect: and in favour of the assumption languages such as Turkish are cited, in which certainly the third pers. of the past tense appears to be an abstract substantive; still before we can build with safety upon the analogy, we ought to possess some practical acquaintance with the languages in question, both as regards their general character and (if possible) their history. Otherwise the comparison may be superficial or unreal. Again, in the particular form which the theory takes in Dietrich's hands, it should be remembered that it depends upon a coincidence,—upon the agreement between an assumed transition of meaning in the noun and an assumed derivation of significations in the tense. And in applying it to the purpose immediately before us, there is an additional difficulty in the fact that it postulates a *triple* structure for a single tense. The perfect is formed homogeneously throughout: the imperfect, on the contrary, presents one formation for the third masc., another for the third fem., a third for the other persons (for Philippi is certainly right in maintaining, against Koch, that these cannot be naturally explained as contracted from *ta-yaktul*, *a-yaktul*, etc.—the pronominal element being prefixed to the form of the third pers. *yaktul*): which of these three, now, is to be regarded as expressing the fundamental character of the tense? The second fem., not being a primary formation, may indeed be set aside: but with which of the other two are we to start in our exposition *à priori* of the meaning conveyed by it? Perhaps, however, it may be fair to assume that the third pers. masc. gave the *type* of the tense, to

which the other persons, though constructed out of different elements, were then made conformable, the external parallelism of form being symbolical of the internal unity of signification thereby secured to the entire tense. This being so, its representative power will be analogous to that of the corresponding nominal form: i. e. (if we confine ourselves to what is the predominant signification of the noun) it will depict an act or attribute, not as a quiescent fact, but as the manifestation of an energy residing in the subject, or as 'a stream evolving itself from its source:' the subject will be conceived as exerting itself in the production of an activity, the action as egressive (cf. Turner, pp. 376 f., 383-385). יראה, ישמח, there is the faculty of seeing, the capacity of joy, realizing itself in the subject; the processes of seeing, of rejoicing, are not represented to us as completed (as by the perf., 'in einem nach allen Seiten hin begränzten und erfasslichen Bilde,' Dietrich, p. 113), but as being actively manifested by the subject; in other words, he *sees*, *rejoices*. Here the alternative theory of the nominal origin of the third pers. is represented in its simplest form. Fortunately, however, the view thus obtained of the primary idea of the tense hardly differs materially from that which has been already expressed in these pages; for such terms as *incipient*, *nascent*, *progressive*, §§ 2, 21, 43 (understood in connexion with the context), do not convey an appreciably different conception from that which now occurs to me as fairly embodying the other opinion (at least as held by Mr. Turner), viz. *egressive*. As the latter makes prominent what after all is the fundamental fact, namely, the objective relation of the action to the subject which exhibits it, I have not scrupled to introduce it, together with a few other modifications, into the text of this and the third chapter.

It may be worth while to add that analogies exist in other languages for the substantival character of the verb, which must certainly be allowed in the case of the third pers. of the Semitic perf., and which is postulated by Dietrich's theory for the third pers. impf. There was doubtless a time when 'noun' and 'verb' were as yet indistinguishable (cf. Curtius, *Das Verbum der Griech. Sprache*, i. p. 13), and Schleicher has shewn in a lucid and valuable Essay, *Die Unterscheidung von Nomen und Verbum in der lautlichen Form* (extracted from the *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der Kön.-Sachs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, iv. 1865), that the clearness and decision with which the Aryan family of speech has expressed the distinction of noun and verb, is far from being a general characteristic of other languages. In Indo-Germanic, 'words which have or had a case-suffix are nouns, those which have or had a personal suffix are verbs:' but the third pers. of the Semitic perf. at once reveals to us that the separation of the two parts of

speech is by no means here so complete. Semitic, in this respect, resembles rather, for instance, Finnish, in which (p. 530) *saa* being 'accipere,' and *saa-va* 'accipiens,' the third pl. pres. is *saa-va-t* 'accipiunt,' lit. 'accipientes:' or Samoyedic, where an adjective, and even a substantive, may be used and conjugated exactly as a verb (pp. 537, 539); and where the possessive suffixes to the noun and the personal suffixes in the verb bear the closest resemblance to each other (so also pp. 527, 535, 542); or Mexican (p. 568), where there are no 'true verbs' (cf. Steinthal, *Characteristik*, pp. 216–218),—the plural of the verb being formed in the same manner as that of the noun[1]. The agreement of the third pers. with a nominal form, and the absence from it of any personal sign is in fact, he remarks (p. 515), a phenomenon often meeting us in other languages[2], particularly where the verb is no verb in the Indo-Germanic sense of the word, but rather a noun: in such cases, the pronoun of the third pers. calls for no special designation, being understood of itself, and it is only the other persons which require to be separately indicated. Though we must not place Semitic on a level with the Polynesian Dayak (respecting which, see Steinthal, p. 165, or Sayce, *Principles of Comparative Philology*, p. 281, ed. 1), we may admit, with Dietrich (p. 136) and Turner (p. 366), no less than with Schleicher, that the distinction between noun and verb does not find in it, formally, the same clear expression as in the languages of our own Aryan family[3].

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[1] Schleicher's thesis, 'that no grammatical categories exist in the consciousness of the speaker which do not find formal expression in sound,' is doubtless enunciated in terms which are too general, and cases may readily be imagined in which it does not apply (see, above all, Bréal, *Sur les idées latentes du langage*, in his *Mélanges de Mythologie et de linguistique*, pp. 300 f., 308 ff., 312 ff.); but he is right in refusing as a rule to credit a people with a sense of grammatical relations which find no expression in their speech, and in protesting against the assumption—often unconsciously influencing us—according to which all languages are framed on the same model, expressing the same distinctions, and possessing the same resources, as those with which we happen to be ourselves familiar.

[2] Instances from Magyar (p. 527), and from the Mongolian Buriat (p. 546), in which 'the third perf., in form and signification alike, is a noun.'

[3] Comp. further, on the subject of the preceding note, J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen* (1889–91), pp. 228, 279 f., 484 f.

CHAPTER II.

The Perfect alone.

N. B. Throughout the present volume, in every pointed word quoted without its proper accent, the tone is *always on the ultima* (milraʿ), *unless specially marked otherwise* by ◌֮. Attention to the position of the tone is of importance for a right understanding of the language; and the necessity of observing it cannot be too emphatically inculcated. By acquiring the habit of doing this regularly, the eye will become trained so as to notice it instinctively and without effort, and will be at once arrested by any deviation a word may present from the customary rule.

7. The perfect tense, in accordance with its fundamental character, as stated § 2, is used—

(1) As equivalent to the Greek aorist, to denote an action completed and finished at a definite moment in the past, fixed by the narrative; as Gen. 1, 1. 3, 16 unto the woman אָמַר *he said*. 10, 8 ילד. 25, 30 קרא. 32, 11 *I passed over*. 49, 30 f. Ps. 18, 5. 6. 9. 30, 3. 32, 4 *was turned*.

Even though the action indicated by the verb should itself extend over a considerable period; as Ex. 1, 7 פָּרוּ. 12, 40. Nu. 9, 23. Dt. 2, 14. 1 Ki. 15, 2 three years מָלַךְ *he reigned*. Ps. 35, 13 f.; or even though it be repeated, as in 1 Sa. 18, 30[1].

8. (2) Like the Greek perfect, to denote an action completed in the past, but with the accessory idea of its conse-

[1] Whether in cases like these the pf. or impf. is employed, depends naturally upon the *animus loquentis:* if the speaker does not desire to lay any special stress on the frequency or continuance of an event, the simplest and most obvious way of designating it will be by the employment of the perfect.

quences continuing up to the time at which the words are uttered: it is thus employed to describe an action resulting in a *state*, which may be of longer or shorter duration, according to the context. Thus Gen. 4, 6 why נפלו *hath* thy face *fallen?* 32, 11 *I have become* (LXX γέγονα) two camps. Isa. 1, 4 *have forsaken* Yahweh. 5, 24b. Ps. 3, 7. 5, 11. 10, 11 הסתיר. 16, 6. 17, 5 בַּל נָמוֹטּוּ *have* not *tottered.* 11. 18, 37. 22, 2. 31, 15 *have trusted.*

Where the consequences of such an action continue into the present we may sometimes render by the present tense, although, if idiom permits it, it is better to preserve the perfect. Amos 5, 14 as *ye say.* Ps. 2, 1 why do the peoples rage? (*have raged*—an action which the context shews has not ceased at the moment of the poet's writing). 38, 3–9 *are* filled, *am* benumbed, etc. 88, 7–10. 14. 16–19. Isa. 21, 3 f. Job 19, 18–20.

Obs. It is of importance to keep the aoristic and perfect senses of this tense distinct, and also to ascertain upon every occasion which of the two is meant, whether, in other words, the action or state described by the tense is one which has ceased, or one which still continues. There is frequently some difficulty upon this point, especially in the Psalms: and unless care be taken in translation, the sense of a passage may be much obscured. For instance, Ps. 31, 7 f. (Heb. 8 f.) in the English Versions, is only intelligible by the side of *v.* 10, if the perfects are explained according to § 14. This is possible, but it is more natural to suppose that the two cohortatives express a wish or prayer rather than an intention, and that ראית, ידעת are aoristic, relating to a former condition of things now come to an end. The English 'thou hast considered' in no way suggests the possibility of such a termination: and the sense of the Hebrew is only properly represented by 'sawest . . . tookest notice of,' etc. (so Cheyne). Similarly, 32, 4 (*was*, not *is;* the context shews that the period of depression is past); but 35, 15 f. 21 ('rejoice, gather,' etc.: the petition *v.* 17 is an indication that the persecution described does not belong wholly to the past): 39, 3 *was* dumb, but *v.* 10 *am* dumb.

The same doublesidedness of the perfect will explain Lam. 3, 55–58: the pff. in these verses are aoristic, describing a state of things *anterior* as well to *vv.* 52–54 as to *vv.* 59–61 (ראיתה *v.* 59 exactly as Ps. 10, 14.

35, 22: the change from *v.* 54 to *v.* 55 is not more abrupt or unprepared than the very similar one between Job 30, 31 and 31, 1). In Lam. 4, 7 (*were*). 8 (*is*), the two senses occur side by side.

9. (3) In cases where in English the perfect *has* is used idiomatically to describe an action occurring in the past at a moment which the speaker is not able or not desirous to specify more closely; as 1 Sa. 12, 3 whose ox לָקַחְתִּי *have I taken?* [or *did I* (ever) *take?*]. 4[1]. Ps. 3, 8 thou hast smitten (on some previous occasion). 4, 2. 7, 4. 21, 3. 37, 35[2]. 44, 2. Pr. 21, 22 (cf. Qoh. 9, 14 f.). Job 4, 3. 9, 4. 30, 25. 31, 5 etc. 33. 34, 31. 37, 20 did a man ever say (=intend *or* command) that he should be annihilated? Jer. 2, 11[a].

In these cases, the limits of time within which the action must lie are obvious from the context: passages like Gen. 4, 1 קָנִיתִי. 10 מֶה עָשִׂיתָ *what hast thou done* (a few moments ago)? or *what didst thou do?* (just now; but the former is the English idiom). 32, 27. 31. 41, 28. Ex. 2, 18. Nu. 22, 34. Ps. 2, 7[c]. 30, 4. 48, 4 נוֹדַע hath made himself known; and the common phrase כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה Ex. 4, 22 etc. lead us on to the next usage.

10. (4) Here the perfect is employed to describe the immediate past, being generally best translated by the present; as Gen. 14, 22 הֲרִמֹתִי *I lift up* (have this moment, as I speak, lifted[3]) my hand to heaven. 1 Sa. 17, 10 חֵרַפְתִּי I reproach. 2 Sa. 16, 4 I bow myself down. 17, 11 I advise. 19, 30 I say. 1 Ki. 1, 35 ואתו צויתי and him do I appoint to be prince over Israel, etc. 2 Chr. 2, 12 (in a letter[4]) I send.

11. (5) Closely allied to (3) is the use of the perfect with such words as יָדַעְתִּי Gen. 4, 9. 21, 26 *I have* not *known=I*

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[1] Cf. Thucyd. 5, 103 *οὐ καθεῖλεν, never ruined.*

[2] Comp. Sophocles, Ajax 1142 (aorist), 1150 (perfect).

[3] Compare in Greek the so-called 'aorist of immediate past,' so common in the tragedians, e. g. Aesch. Choeph. 423. Soph. El. 668 ἐδεξάμην (*I welcome*) τὸ ῥηθέν. 677 etc.

[4] Cf. 2 Cor. 8, 18. Acts 23, 30.

do not *know;* זָכַרְנוּ Nu. 11, 5 *we remember;* כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהֵב Gen. 27, 9 as *he loveth.* In verbs like these, expressive of a state or condition, whether physical or mental, which, though it may have been attained at some previous time, nevertheless continues to exist up to the moment of speaking, the emphasis rests so often upon the latter point, that the English *present* most adequately represents the force of the original perfect.

To the verbs already cited may be added, as belonging to the same class, the following, which are selected from the list given by Böttcher, *Ausf. Lehrbuch*, § 948: by this grammarian they are not inaptly termed *verba stativa* or 'statives,' אָמְלַל *to languish;* בטח *to trust* Ps. 26, 2 etc.; גבה *to be high* Isa. 55, 9; גָּדַל *to be great* Ps. 92, 6; דָּמָה *to be like* Ps. 144, 4; זקן *to be old* Ruth 1, 12; חָסָה *to take refuge* Ps. 7, 2 etc.; טהר *to be clean* Pr. 20, 9; יָכֹל *to be able* Ps. 40, 13; מֵאֵן *to refuse* Ex. 10, 3; מאס *to despise* Job 7, 16; מלא *to be full* Ps. 104, 24; צדק *to be just* Job 10, 15. 34, 5; קָטֹן *to be small* Gen. 32, 11; רבב *to be*[1] *many* Ps. 104, 24; שמח *to rejoice* 1 Sa. 2, 1; שָׂנֵא *to hate* Ps. 5, 6; add היה Gen. 42, 11. Isa. 15, 6; חפצתי Ps. 40, 9 etc.[2]

It will be understood, however, that many of these verbs are found also as aorists, i. e. with the emphasis not on the continuance of the state described, but on its commencement, or upon the fact of its existence generally at some period in the past; e. g. Gen. 28, 16 לא ידעתי *I knew* it not. 37, 3. 1 Sa. 10, 19. 22, 22. Ps. 39, 3 (p. 14). 41, 10. In itself the perfect enunciates simply the completion of an act: it is by way of accommodation to the usage of another language that, eliciting its special force from the context, we

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[1] 'To *become* many,' i. e. be multiplied, is רָבָה.

[2] Cf. *μέμαα, πέφυκα, πέποιθα, οἶδα, ἔρρωμαι,* etc. *We* commonly denote a state by the use of the present: the Greek, in verbs like these, 'conceives it as the result of the act necessary for attaining it, and therefore denotes it by the perfect.'

make the meaning more definite by exhibiting it explicitly, as occasion demands, under the form of an aorist, a perfect, or a present.

12. (6) It is used to express general truths known to have actually occurred, and so proved from experience: here again the idiomatic rendering in English is by means of the present[1]: Isa. 1, 3[a]. 40, 7. 8. 23. Ps. 7, 16 כָּרָה he *hath dug* or *diggeth* a pit and holloweth it out. 10, 3. 33, 13 f. 34, 11. 37, 23. 39, 12. 84, 4 מָצְאָה, שָׂתָה[2]. Pr. 22, 12. 13. Jer. 10, 13[b]. Qoh. 8, 14 (*has taken* place, or *takes* place). Comp. 1 Sa. 20, 2 Kt.

13. (7) The perfect is employed to indicate actions the accomplishment of which lies indeed in the future, but is regarded as dependent upon such an unalterable determination of the will that it may be spoken of as having actually taken place: thus a resolution, promise, or decree, especially a Divine one, is frequently announced in the perfect tense. A striking instance is afforded by Ruth 4, 3, where Bo'az, speaking of No'ŏmi's determination to sell her land, says, מָכְרָה נָעֳמִי lit. *has sold* (has resolved to sell: the Engl. idiom would be *is selling*). Gen. 23, 11 *I give* thee the field; 13, Abraham replies, נָתַתִּי *I give* thee the value of the field (although the money does not actually pass till *v.* 16). 15, 18 to thy seed *I give* this land; similarly 1 Ki. 3, 13. Isa. 43, 14. Jer. 31, 33; Jud. 15, 3 נָקֹיתִי, referring to the contemplated

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[1] Though in particular cases a perfect may be used.

Both the pf. and aorist (the 'gnomic' aorist) are similarly used in Greek: Xen. Mem. 4, 2. 35 *πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ δόξαν καὶ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν μεγάλα κακὰ πεπόνθασιν* (preceded by three *presents*); cf. the aorist Plato Rep. 566 D. E. in the description of the conduct of the *τύραννος*, also Il. 9, 320. 13, 62. 243. 300. 14, 217. 18, 309 etc.

In the gnomic aorist (which is sometimes found coupled with the present, as Il. 17, 177 *ὅστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ, καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην Ῥηϊδίως·*) 'a fact of the past is exhibited as a rule for all time.'

[2] Not *may lay* (A.V.), which would be תשית: the word states a fact, exactly as מצאה does.

act of violence. 1 Sa. 15, 2. Ez. 21, 9 (cf. 8) הֶכְרַתִּי. Lev. 26, 44 nevertheless, when they are in the land of their enemies, לֹא מְאַסְתִּים *I do not reject them.* Ps. 20, 7 now know I that Yahweh *is sure to save* his anointed. Nu. 32, 19 בָּאָה (*mil'el*, and so pf., not ptcp.[1]). 2 Chr. 12, 5 עזבתי.

Here also may be noticed the use of the pf. in Jer. 4, 13 Woe to us, for שֻׁדַּדְנוּ׃ *we are undone!* (at the prospect of the invader's approach: comp. ὄλωλα, and such phrases as Il. 15, 128 μαινόμενε, φρένας ἠλέ, διέφθορας). Isa. 6, 5. Ps. 31, 23. Lam. 3, 54. Nu. 17, 27.

14. (8) But the most special and remarkable use of the tense, though little more than an extension of the last idiom, is as the *prophetic perfect:* its abrupt appearance in this capacity imparts to descriptions of the future a forcible and expressive touch of reality, and reproduces vividly the certainty with which the occurrence of a yet future event is contemplated by the speaker[2]. Sometimes the perfect appears thus

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[1] It may be worth while here to remind the reader that in verbs ע״ו the pf. fem. בָּאָה is *mil'el*, the ptcp. fem. בָּאָה *milra'*; (הַשָּׁמָה, therefore, Isa. 51, 10, according to the punctuation, is the perfect, although preceded by the article; see, however, on this and similar passages, the writer's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, p. 58, or Ges.-Kautzsch, ed. 25, § 138, 3[b]). This distinction may be easily borne in mind, if it be recollected that in each case the position of the tone depends simply upon the particular application of a *general* rule: on the one hand, all *fem. adjectives* in ־ָה are regularly accented on the ultima, e. g. קְטֻלָּה; on the other hand, all *tense-forms* ending in ־ָה, ־וּ, ־ִי, with a *vowel* (not *shwa*') before the last radical, except in certain special cases, take the tone upon the penultima, e. g. אָשׁוּבָה, קָוִמִי, הַבִּיטוּ, וְנָהֲרוּ. We are now further in a position to understand how upon exactly the same principle נֶאֱמָנָה Ps. 19, 8 must be the ptcp., and נֶאֱלָמָה Isa. 53, 7 the pausal form of the perfect.

[2] The Greek aorist is similarly used, at least in the apodosis, to 'express future events which must certainly happen' (Jelf, § 403, 2); and even coupled with a future, Il. 4, 161 ἔκ τε καὶ ὀψὲ τελεῖ, σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν. 9, 413 (see further below, § 136 γ). Compare also its force in such descriptive passages as Il. 9, 7 (ἔχευαν). 15, 626. 16, 299–300. 20, 497. Phaedrus 245 A (ἠφανίσθη). 251 A. B. 254 B. etc.

only for a single word; sometimes, as though nothing more than an ordinary series of past historical events were being described, it extends over many verses in succession: continually the series of perfects is interspersed with the simple future forms, as the prophet shifts his point of view, at one moment contemplating the events he is describing from the *real standpoint* of the present, at another moment looking back upon them as accomplished and done, and so viewing them from an *ideal position* in the future.

It will be best to classify under distinct heads the various modes in which this perfect of certitude, or prophetic perfect, may appear.

(*a*) The description of the future scene may *begin* with the perfect, whether the verbs following (if there be any) fall back into the future or not: Nu. 24, 17 a star דָּרַךְ *hath proceeded* out of Jacob, and *shall* etc. Jud. 4, 14 hath he not gone out before thee? Isa. 5, 13 Therefore גָּלָה *hath* my people *gone* into captivity (although the captivity is only *anticipated*). 25 על כן חרה etc. 8, 23. 9, 1–6 the people that walked in darkness *have seen* a great light etc. 10, 28–31 (of the march of the Assyrian) he *is come* to 'Ayyâth etc. 21, 1 בא. 12 אתא. 24, 4–12 (except 9). 28, 2 הניח (the prophet sees Samaria already laid low on the ground). 30, 5. 33, 3. 42, 17. 45, 16f. 46, 1f. (the fall of Babylon and its idols spoken of as *achieved:* for the parallel ptcp. cf. Jer. 5, 6). Jer. 2, 26 הבישו. 5, 6 הִכָּם (where observe that the impf. and ptcp. follow: in each of the three parallel expressions the prophet seizes upon a fresh aspect of the scene). 13, 26 חשפתי. 28, 2 (in 4, the impf. אשבר). 32, 24 f. 46, 14–16. 23 f. 51, 8. 41. Ez. 3, 25. 24, 14[b] etc. Amos 5, 2. Zeph. 3, 18. Ps. 22, 22. 30 all the fat ones of the earth *have eaten* and worshipped. 26, 12 my foot *standeth* in a level land. 30, 12. 36, 13 (the Psalmist sees the wicked already fallen). 41, 4. 71, 24. 15, 11 etc. Compare Jer. 6, 15[b]. 49, 8. 50, 31 (עֵת פְּקַדְתִּיו).

It thus occurs (exceptionally) after oaths or other strong

asseverations; as אִם לֹא Jer. 15, 11 (22, 6 etc. with the impf.); כִּי אִם 2 Ki. 5, 20 (1 Sa. 26, 10. 2 Sa. 15, 21, the impf.; cf. § 115).

(β) It frequently appears after כִּי, the reason for an assertion or a command being found in some event the occurrence of which, though still future, is deemed *certain*, and contemplated accordingly by the writer; Isa. 11, 9 they will do no destruction in all my holy mountain, for the earth *is filled* with the knowledge of Yahweh (at the time alluded to *has been* filled). 15, 6b. 8. 9. 16, 8. 9 נִבֹּל. 23, 1. 4. 14 howl, for your stronghold *has been wasted!* 24, 18. 23 מָלַךְ. 29, 20. 32, 10 בָּלָה. 14. 34, 2. 35, 6. 60, 1. Jer. 25, 14. 31, 6. 9b. 11. 25. Mic. 1, 9. 12. 16. Zeph. 1, 11. Zech. 11, 2. Ps. 6. 9 f. שָׁמַע. 28, 6. 31, 22 (prob.). 56, 14. 59, 17[1]. Gen. 30, 13 I am in luck, for the daughters אִשְּׁרוּנִי *are sure to call* me lucky!

Without כי, Isa. 21, 2 הִשְׁבַּתִּי. 14 (reason for 13). 33, 14. 34, 14b. 15b. 16b. 35, 2. Zeph. 2, 2 like chaff *hath* the day (the time of delay before לִרְדַת חק) *passed by!* 3, 14 f. Lam. 4, 22.

(γ) But the pf. is also found (without כי) where, in a description of the future, it is desired to give variety to the scene, or to confer particular emphasis upon individual isolated traits in it; it may in this case appear in the midst of a series of imperfects, either *ἀσυνδέτως*, or connected with what precedes by the copulative, *provided that the* ו *is separated*

[1] In some of the passages from the Psalms we may not perhaps feel assured that the perfects are to be understood in this sense, as representing the certainty and confidence felt by the writers as regards the events they anticipate. It is no doubt *possible* that they may simply describe past facts or former experiences (like 4, 2. 31, 6 etc.) which the writer desires to refer to: so, for example, 28, 6. 31, 22. 36, 13. But the 'perfect of certitude' is of such frequent and well-established occurrence, and at the same time so much more forcible and appropriate to the context than the more common-place 'perfect of experience,' that we need not scruple to interpret accordingly. Such sudden turns as those in 6, 9. 28, 6. 30, 12 are no less effective and emphatic than the abrupt introduction of a new and dissimilar key in a piece of music.

from the verb by one or more intervening words (if this be not the case, i. e. if the conjunction is *immediately* followed by the verb, the imperfect tense with וְ is of course employed: see below, § 82). For instance, without *waw:*—

Isa. 5, 28. 30 חשך. 8, 8. 13, 10b. 16, 10. 17, 11b (if נֵד be a verb). 19, 6b. 7b. 24, 14b. 25, 8 בִּלַּע he hath swallowed up death for ever! (contrast 7 ובלע). 30, 19 עָנְךָ as soon as he heareth, he *hath answered* thee! 33, 5b *hath* filled, etc. 47, 9. 49, 17. 51, 11b יִשִּׂיגוּן נָסוּ[1]. Jer. 25, 38. 31, 5b. 47, 3. Joel 2, 10. 4, 15. Zech. 9, 15 הָמוּ. Ps. 37, 20. Job 5, 19 f. in six troubles he will deliver thee, and in seven evil will not touch thee; in famine פָּדְךָ *he hath redeemed* thee from death, and in war from the power of the sword!

Obs. After an imperative,—the poet, by an abrupt transition, picturing what he desires as already achieved, Isa. 21, 14. Ps. 68, 31b (cf. 29a). Many commentators, to be sure, prefer to punctuate the verbs in question as imperatives; but the alteration has a weakening effect, and does not appear to be necessary: cf. Ezek. 24, 5b.

With *waw:*—

Isa. 5, 27b (a particular feature in their approach described as though *present to the eye*). 11, 8 הָדָה . . . וְ. 18, 5 הַסִּיר הַנֵּץ. 19, 8b. 25, 12. 30, 32. Jer. 48, 33b. Job 5, 23. 22, 28b. And similarly in descriptions of the present, Ps. 7, 13 (we see the bow *already drawn*). 11, 2 כוננו. Job 41, 20. Compare also Ps. 38, 17; Job 5, 11. 28, 25 and he *regulateth:* in all these passages there is a change of construction, the writer passing suddenly from an expression of *modality* to the statement of *a fact*[2].

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[1] In the parallel passage 35, 10 we have the smoother, less forcible ישיגו ונסו: the change is curious and instructive; it appears to have arisen from the tail of the ן becoming accidentally shortened, or a copyist in doubt preferring the more ordinary construction, as the LXX in 35, 10 as well as 51, 11 have ἀπέδρα (which they are unlikely to have gone out of their way to choose, had they read ונסו).

[2] I have been led to give a large number of examples of this use of the

15. Sometimes the perfect is used in order to give emphatic expression to a predicate, conceived as being immediately and necessarily involved in the subject of the verb[1]: thus Pr. 8, 35 Qri, he that finds me *has* (in that very act) *found* life. 14, 31. 16, 26. 30. 17, 5. 27, 16; cf. 22, 9.

16. (9) The perfect is used where we should employ by preference the pluperfect, i. e. in cases where it is desired to bring two actions in the past into a special relation with each other, and to indicate that the action described by the pluperfect was completed before the other took place. The function of the pluperfect is thus to throw two events into their proper perspective as regards each other: but the tense is to some extent a superfluous one—it is an elegance for which Hebrew possesses no distinct form, and which even in Greek, as is well known, both classical and Hellenistic, is constantly replaced by the simple aorist. Gen. 2, 2 God blessed the works which עשה *he had made*, LXX ἃ ἐποίησε; 6, 1. 19, 28 and behold the smoke עלה *had ascended* (had begun to ascend before Abraham looked). 20, 18 for *he had shut* up etc. 28, 11 בא. 31, 34 and Rachel *had* taken (before Laban entered into the tent, *v.* 33). 34, 5. 38, 15. Dt. 9, 16. Jud. 6, 28. 1 Sa. 28, 20 for לא אכל he *had* not *eaten* bread. 30, 12. 2 Sa. 18, 18. 1 Ki. 1, 6. 41 (they *had finished* eating when they heard). 2 Ki. 9, 16. Isa. 6, 6; after a conjunction like בַּאֲשֶׁר Gen. 7, 9. 18, 33. 20, 13 etc.

Or, somewhat differently, when it may be wished to indicate explicitly that a given action was anterior to another action named immediately afterwards (not, as in the first case, named previously), Ps. 30, 7. 8 (where by rendering אמרתי, העמדתה by the plupf. we bring them into distinct relief as *anterior* to the following הסתרת). 31, 23. Job 32, 4

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perfect, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but also for a reason which will appear more fully in Chap. VIII.

[1] Cf. Rom. 13, 8 ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν νόμον πεπλήρωκε, and Winer, § 40. 4[b].

but Elihu *had waited*, for they were older than he. 42, 5 by hearing of the ear *had I heard* of thee, but now hath mine eye seen thee.

17. (10) Similarly, in the description of future events, it is often convenient in English to exhibit more distinctly the relation of two actions to one another by substituting for the Heb. perfect the future perfect, or 'paullo-post-futurum;' but this is by no means always obligatory, or even desirable. Thus after כי=*for:* Lev. 14, 48 נרפא. 19, 8 they that eat it shall bear their own sin, for (if any one eats it) he *will have profaned* what is holy to Yahweh. 1 Sa. 14, 10. 20, 22 if I say thus, go; for שִׁלְּחֲךָ Yahweh *will* (in that case) *have sent* thee away. 2 Sa. 5, 24 כי אז (אז omitted in 1 Chr. 14, 15). Ez. 3, 21 for (in that case) נִזְהָר (pf. *in pausa*) he *will have been warned* and THOU *wilt have delivered* thy soul; in a relative clause, Gen. 48, 6 which thou *shalt have* begotten (not *mayest* beget, which would be תּוֹלִיד). 1 Sa. 1, 28 all the days אשר היה *which he shall have been.* Jer. 8, 3 הַנִּדָּחִים (24, 9 אֲדִיחֵם); after conjunctions, such as אַחַר Lev. 14, 43 אַחַר חִלַּץ after that *he has taken away* the stones. 25, 48; עַד 2 Ki. 7, 3 עַד אֵת יוֹלֵדָה till we *are dead.* Ez. 34, 21. Mic. 5, 2 עַד מָתְנוּ: יָלְדָה until the time when she that beareth *shall have* borne; עַד אֲשֶׁר אִם Gen. 28, 15 until *I have done* etc. Nu. 32, 17. Isa. 6, 11†; עַד אִם 30, 17. Gen. 24, 19. Ruth 2, 21†; כִּי אִם אמרתי לך 2 Ki. 4, 24 except I bid thee; כִּי Isa. 16, 12 it shall come to pass, כִּי נִרְאָה when Moab *has appeared* (cum apparuerit) etc. Ps. 138, 4. 1 Chr. 17, 11 when thy days מלאו *have been* fulfilled (in 2 Sa. 11, 12 ימלאו). Dan. 11, 36; אִם (=when), Isa. 4, 4: cf. § 138.

18. (11) The use of the perfect in both the protasis and apodosis of certain forms of hypothetical propositions will be illustrated below: see Chap. X. A few cases, however, may be noticed here in which the pf. is employed to denote events appertaining to past time, which *might have happened* but *did not happen*, which are therefore only for the moment conceived

as having occurred, under conditions not actually realized. In Greek the existence of such conditions is (though not universally[1], Jelf, §§ 858 f. Winer, § 42. 2[b]) noted by ἄν in the apodosis: we observe therefore that the Heb. perfect corresponds not merely to the Greek aorist by itself, but to the Greek aorist with ἄν, that in other words it expresses the *contingent* as well as the *actual* occurrence of an event—the sense of the reader, or the tone in which the words are spoken, readily determining to which category the event is to be referred. So after כְּמַעַט Ps. 73, 2. 119, 87. Pr. 5, 14; כַּאֲשֶׁר Zech. 10, 6[b]. Job 10, 19 I ought to have been (§ 39 β) as though לא הייתי I *had not been* born. Ob. 16 והיו כלוא היו. See further §§ 139, 141, 144.

19. (12) The perfect is used rather singularly in *questions*: 1. after עַד מָתַי Ex. 10, 3 until when מֵאַנְתָּ *wilt* thou *have* refused? Ps. 80, 5; or עַד אָנָה Ex. 16, 28, and with an impf. in the parallel clause Hab. 1, 2. Pr. 1, 22. Cf. Jer. 22, 23 מַה־נֵּחַנְתְּ (contrast 4, 30. 13, 21).

And 2. to express astonishment at what appears to the speaker in the highest degree improbable:—

Gen. 18, 12 הֳיְתָה. Jud. 9, 9. 11. 13 *am I to have* lost my fatness וְהָלַכְתִּי and go? etc. 2 Ki. 20, 9 הָלַךְ *iveritne*[2]? Nu. 17, 28 shall we ever have finished dying? Pr. 24, 28; and possibly Ps. 73, 11. Job 22, 13.

Gen. 21, 7 who[3] *could have* said to Abraham? Nu. 23, 10. 1 Sa. 26, 9 וְנָקָה . . . מִי שָׁלַח who *is to have* put forth his hand . . . and be guiltless? LXX *τίς ἐποίσει* (quite different from

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[1] And compare the use of the indicative in Latin, e. g. Hor. Carm. 2. 17, 27 Me truncus illapsus cerebro *Sustulerat* nisi Faunus ictum Dextra levasset.

[2] Where, accordingly, there is no occasion (with Hitzig on Ps. 11, 3) to change the punctuation and read הָלַךְ.

[3] Cf. Ephrem Syrus III. p. 59 if painters cannot paint the wind ܟܕ ܢܦܘ ܡܢ whose tongue *can have* described the Son of God? for which in str. 18 we have the impf. ܢܬܐ.

Dt. 5, 23. Lam. 3, 37. Pr. 30, 4. Job 9, 4 who ever hardened himself against him :וַיִּשְׁלָם and escaped whole? as is clear from both the sense of the passage and the difference in the *tense* of the second verb: see above, § 9, and Chap. VIII). Ps. 11, 3. 60, 11.

20. (13) Is there a *precative* perfect in Hebrew? or does the perfect in Hebrew, as in certain cases in Arabic, serve to give emphatic enunciation to a wish? The affirmative was maintained by Ewald, § 223[b], who cited Isa. 26, 15. Ps. 10, 16. 31, 6. 57, 7. 116, 16. Job 21, 16. 22, 18. Lam. 1, 21. 3, 57–61 and the 'old form of speech' preserved Ps. 18, 47; and by Böttcher, §§ 939[g], 947[g], who, accepting out of Ewald's instances only Ps. 116, 16. Job 21, 16. 22, 18. Lam. 3, 57–61, added to the list Isa. 43, 9. Mic. 1, 10 Kt. Ps. 4, 2. 7, 7. 22, 22. 71, 3. 141, 6 f.[1] In any case, if the usage exists, it is but an extension of the same manner of speech which has been already explained, § 14, viz. the perfect of certitude; the prominent position of the verb—in Arabic[2], to avoid misconstruction, it all but universally stands first in the sentence —aided by the tone of voice with which it is uttered, being sufficient to invest the conviction or hope, which is all that the tense employed in itself expresses, with the character of a wish. But the fact is that the evidence for this signification of the pf. is so precarious, the passages adduced in proof of it[3]

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[1] Two other passages quoted, Jer. 50, 5. Joel 4, 11, do not belong here, the verb in each being attached to וְ.

[2] For the Arabic usage see Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* §§ 198, 710; Wright, *Arabic Gramm.* ii. p. 3. Even the fact that in Hebrew the position of the verb is neglected ought to excite suspicion: in Arabic it is just the position which gives to the tense that interjectional force, upon which, in Ewald's words, its peculiar significance entirely depends.

[3] E. g. Ps. 4, 2. 116, 16 are quite naturally explained by § 9; 7, 7. 71, 3 resemble substantially ראיתה Ps. 10, 14. 35, 22; Lam. 3, 57 ff. has been discussed already; Isa. 26, 15 are words spoken from the standpoint of the future, and 43, 9 the tenses, if נקבצו be a perf. (so König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. p. 184), are similar to those in 41, 5 (Ew. Hitz. Del. Dillm. and Ges.-K. § 51 Rem. 3 [doubtfully], however, treat נקבצו as

admitting of a ready explanation by other means, that it will be safer to reject it altogether[1].

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an imperative). As regards Ps. 22, 22 it is to be noticed that the words in question stand on the border-ground between the petition for help and the thanksgiving for its approach: it might almost be said that the poet began with the intention of saying ומקרני רמים קַעֲנֵנִי: , but that, as he wrote, the prospect of the deliverance burst upon him so brightly as to lead him to speak of it as an accomplished fact עניתני, which he then makes the key-note of the following verses 23–32. Compare further Hupfeld's note on Ps. 4, 2. Delitzsch would confine the use to such 'interjectional exclamations' as the one contained in the two verses from Job; but even there it is questionable whether it is necessary or legitimate to have recourse to it: Hitzig sees in רחקה only an earnest protestation of innocence, and translates by the present indicative.

[1] The same conclusion is defended, with additional reasons, by Prof. August Müller, in his review of the present work, pp. 202 f. (the precative perfect not used at all in Arabic to express concrete, personal petitions, such as would be contained in most of the passages referred to: in the other passages, no exegetical necessity for having recourse to it): it is adopted also by Ges.-Kautzsch, § 106. 3[h] *note*.

CHAPTER III.

The Imperfect alone.

21. In marked antithesis to the tense we have just discussed, the imperfect in Hebrew, as in the other Semitic languages, indicates action as *nascent*, as evolving itself actively from its subject, as developing. The imperfect does not imply *mere* continuance as such (which is the function of the participle), though, inasmuch as it emphasizes the process introducing and leading to completion, it expresses what may be termed *progressive* continuance; by thus seizing upon an action while nascent, and representing it under its most striking and impressive aspect (for it is just when a fresh object first appears upon a scene that it exhibits greater energy, and is, so to speak, more aggressive, than either while it simply continues or after it has been completed), it can present it in the liveliest manner possible—it can present it in *movement* rather than, like the pf., in a condition of rest. The action thus exhibited as *ready* or *about to take place* may belong to the past, the present, or the future; but an event ready and so capable of taking place would be likely and liable to occur more than once; we thus find the imperfect employed to denote *reiterated* actions—'a mist יַעֲלֶה *used to go up*' (upon repeated occasions; but וְנָהָר יֹצֵא 'and a river *was* (unintermittently) *proceeding* out of the garden')[1]. In strictness, יעלה expresses only a *single* event

[1] Cf. the English 'apt,' properly = fitted, suited, adapted, but also used in the phrase '*to be apt* to do so and so,' in a frequentative significa-

as beginning or ready to take place; but an action of which this may be predicated is in the nature of things likely to happen more frequently, and thus the additional idea of 'recurrency' would be speedily superinduced upon the more limited original signification of the imperfect[1].

22. The same form is further employed to describe events belonging to the *future;* for the future is emphatically τὸ μέλλον, and this is just the attribute specially expressed by the imperfect. The idea of reiteration is not prominent in this case, because the occurrence of the event spoken of is by itself sufficient to occupy and satisfy the mind, which does not look beyond to reflect whether it is likely to happen more than once: on the other hand, when a *past* event is described by the impf. the attention is at once arrested by the peculiarities of the tense—original and derived—which are *not* explained if a *single* action alone be assumed. The *mere* occurrence of an event is denoted by the perfect; the impf., therefore (unless its appearance be attributable solely to chance), must have been chosen in order to suggest some

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tion = '*to be liable, accustomed,* or *used* to do so and so:' we here see how an expression indicating simply *readiness* or *capacity* may so extend its original connotation as to acquire in addition the power of connoting *recurrence*.

[1] The connexion between the ideas of *incipiency* and *reiteration* may be illustrated by the use of the element **-σκ-** in Greek, which in words like γηράσκω, ἡβάσκω (cf. senesco, pubesco, cresco, etc.), possesses an inchoative force, while in the Homeric and Ionic forms ναιετάασκε, εἴπεσκε, ἐλάσασκε, etc., it appears as an affix expressing iteration. 'The gradual realization and the repetition of an action are regarded by language as nearly akin' (Curtius, *Elucidations*, p. 143): εἴπεσκε, then, meaning properly 'he was *on the point* of saying,' very quickly becomes 'he *would* or *used to* say.'

In most of the verbs ending in **-σκω**, the original inchoative force is no longer traceable at all, in others it is only traceable after reflection, e.g. in γιγνώσκω, μιμνήσκω, θνήσκω, στερίσκω—another example of a form preserved by language, even after its distinctive meaning had been lost. Cf. Curtius, *Das Griech. Verbum*, i. 269, 285.

additional feature characteristic of the occurrence, which, in the case before us, is the fact (or possibility) of its repetition.

23. An idea, however, like that of *nascency*, *beginning*, or *going to be* is almost indefinitely elastic: on the one hand, that which is in the process of coming to pass is also that which is *destined* or *must* come to pass (τὸ μέλλον); on the other hand, it is also that which *can* or *may* come to pass. If the subject of the verb be also the speaker, i. e. if the verb be in the first person, that which is about to come to pass will be commonly that which he himself *desires* or *wishes* to come to pass; if, however, the verb be in the second or third person, it naturally expresses the wishes of the speaker *as regards some one else*, and so conveys a more or less emphatic *permission* which imperceptibly passes, especially in negative sentences, into a *command*. אֶרְאֶה Dt. 32, 20 *I will* or *am about to look*, I should like to look; תֹּאכַל *thou mayest eat* Gen. 2, 16, but, in the injunctions for the passover, Ex. 12, 11 *ye are to* or *shall* eat it; לֹא תֹאכַל Gen. 2, 17 *thou mayest*, *shalt*, or *must*, not eat it; יִהְיֶה *it is about to be*, or, if spoken by a person with power to bring it about, *it shall be*, לֹא יִהְיֶה *it is not to be*.

24. But again, since the imperfect expresses an action not as *done*, but only as *doing*, as possessing consequently an element of uncertainty and indeterminateness, not already fixed and defined but capable of assuming any form, or taking any direction which may be impressed upon it from without, it is used after conjunctions such as לְמַעַן, בַּעֲבוּר, פֶּן, precisely as in Latin the corresponding terms are followed not by the indicative, the mood of certainty, but by the subjunctive, the mood of contingency. And, in accordance with the principle stated above that the Hebrew 'tenses' do not in themselves specify the period of time within which a given action must have happened, any of the *nuances* just assigned to the imperfect will retain their force in the past as well as in the present, the same tense is competent to express

both *is to* and *was to*, *may* and *might*, *can* and *could*, *will* and *would*, *shall* and *should*, in all the varied positions and shades of meaning which these auxiliaries may assume. Our English *will* and *would*, as commonly used to describe a custom or habit, correspond probably most closely to the Hebrew tense in this application; but obviously these terms would not be suitable to represent it always, and recourse must therefore be had to other expressions.

25. The imperfect, then, may characterize action as *potential;* but this potentiality may be expressed either (1) as a substantive and independent fact, i. e. the tense may appear as *indicative;* or (2) as regulated by the will of a personal agent, i. e. the tense may appear as *voluntative* (optative); or (3) as determined by some antecedent event, i. e. the tense may appear as *subjunctive*[1].

26. We may now proceed to arrange the various senses in which the imperfect is employed.

In the description of past occurrences it is used in two different ways, as explained above: 1. to represent an event while nascent (γιγνόμενον), and so, by seizing upon it while in movement rather than while at rest, to picture it with peculiar vividness to the mental eye; and 2. as a frequentative, to suggest the reiteration of the event spoken of. In which of these senses it is on each occasion to be understood is left to the intelligence of the reader to determine; and this will not generally lead him astray. In cases where any doubt remains, it may be inferred either that the decision is immaterial, or else that the requisite data for forming one no longer exist as they must have done when the passage was written—a con-

[1] It will be observed that this tripartite division is not maintained in what follows. The fact is that Hebrew, unlike Arabic, possesses no distinctive terminations to mark the subjunctive mood: although therefore the imperfect fulfils the functions which elsewhere belong to a subjunctive, distinguishable as such, it is sufficient to notice the fact generally, without pausing to enquire upon each occasion whether the tense is indicative or subjunctive.

sideration which will of course account for much of the obscurity that rests upon the interpretation of ancient documents in all languages.

27. (1) This usage is naturally most frequent in a poetical or elevated style: but in prose equally the imperfect, if describing a single action and so not capable of explanation as a frequentative, operates by bringing into prominence the process introducing it and preliminary to its complete execution (as in Greek κατεδύετο, *was in course of sinking*). Here it may sometimes be rendered in English by the '*historical present*,' the effect of which is to present in strong relief and with especial liveliness the features of the scene which it describes: but in fact, the idiom is one of those which our language is unable to reproduce: the student must *feel* the force of the tense in the Hebrew, and endeavour not to forget it as he reads the translation in English.

(*a*) First of all, in the language of poetry or prophecy; Ex. 15, 5 the depths יְכַסִּימוּ *covered them!* 6. 7. 15. Nu. 23, 7 and he took up his parable and said, From Aram Balaq יַנְחֵנִי *bringeth me!* Dt. 32, 10 יְמָצְאֵהוּ he *found* him (or *findeth* him) in a desert land! (contrast Hos. 9, 10 מצאתי). Jud. 5, 8. 26. 29 (vivid pictures of Jael *stretching out* her hand, and the princesses in the act of *answering*). Isa. 43, 17. 45, 4 אֲאַבְּנֵךְ. 5. 51, 2 Sarah תְּחוֹלָלְכֶם who *bare* you. Hab. 3, 3. 7. Job 3, 3 perish the day אִוָּלֶד בּוֹ I *was being* born in! (contrast Jer. 20, 14 אֲשֶׁר יֻלַּדְתִּי בּוֹ). 11 why did I not *go on to* die (at once die) from the womb? 4, 12. 15 f. 10, 10 f. 15, 7. 38, 8[b]. Ps. 7, 16 and falleth into the pit : יִפְעָל *he is* or *was making*[1]. 18, 4[2]. 7. 21. 30, 9 (Hitz. Del.). 32, 5[a]. 80, 9[a]. 104, 6–8. 116, 3 f. 6. Lam. 3, 8 when I *would fain* cry: see further § 85.

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[1] Not, as A. V., *made;* the impf. shews that the writer thought of the process as not completed—while *engaged upon carrying out* his design, the destruction overtakes him.

[2] 'In lebhaft erregter Rede die Vergangenheit wie Gegenwart geschaut' (Hitzig).

(β) In prose this use of the impf. is only common after אָז or טֶ֫רֶם, which introduce or point to an ensuing event, and are accordingly constantly followed by this tense. Thus, for example, after אָז Ex. 15, 1 אָז יָשִׁיר *then sang* Moses (*proceeded, went on* to sing). Dt. 4, 41. Josh. 8, 30. 10, 12 etc.; after טֶ֫רֶם or בְּטֶ֫רֶם all but uniformly, Gen. 2, 5. 19, 4. 24, 45. 1 Sa. 3, 3. 7[b] etc.[1] The impf. is also found occasionally with reference to past time after עַד or עַד אֲשֶׁר *until;* but here the indefiniteness inherent in this conjunction being at times more perceptibly felt may have co-operated in the adoption of the impf. in preference to the perfect. Thus Josh. 10, 13 עַד יִקֹּם. Jon. 4, 5. Ps. 73, 17. Qoh. 2, 3. 2 Chr. 29, 34[2].

(γ) The following instances are of an exceptional character: Jud. 2, 1 אַעֲלֶה I *brought you up* out of Egypt etc. (setting forth the occurrence in bright relief)[3]. 1 Ki. 21, 6 כִּי אֲדַבֵּר (perhaps frequentative). 2 Ki. 8, 29 (=9, 15: in 2 Chr. 22, 6 the pf.); and preceded by the conj. וְ (cf. § 85 *Obs.*). Gen. 37, 7 והנה תסבינה and behold *they began to* move round (Joseph represents the sheaves as being in *motion;* conceive סבו in place of ת׳, and how lifeless the image becomes!). Ex.

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[1] אז is, however, also frequently found with the pf., Gen. 4, 26. Ex. 4, 26. 15, 15. 1 Ki. 22, 50 etc.: but טרם only very rarely, Gen. 24, 15 (contrast *v.* 45 above). 1 Sa. 3, 7[a] (contrast 7[b]); and בטרם Ps. 90, 2. Pr. 8, 25. Comp. the use of the impf. in Syriac, after ܩܕܡ ܕ Gen. 13, 10. Dt. 33, 1. 1 Sa. 9, 15. *Acta S. Pelagiae* (Gildemeister), 5, 21; ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕ John 17, 5; ܥܕܠܐ 2 Ki. 6, 32. Jer. 1, 5 al.

[2] With the *perf.*, Dt. 2, 14. 9, 21. Josh. 2, 22 etc. It will be remembered how *antequam*, *priusquam*, and *donec* may be followed indifferently by a subjunctive or indicative, according to the mode in which the occurrence of the event is conceived by the writer.

[3] The impf., as used in this *prose* passage, of past time, is no doubt unexpected and peculiar: hence some scholars suspect the text to be defective, and would restore [וָאֹמַר (Ex. 3, 16) ויאמר [פקד פקדתי אתכם אעלה וג׳ or ויאמר [פקד פקדתי אתכם וָ]אַעֲלֶה (Böttcher; Doorninck, *Bijdrage tot de Tekstkritiek van Richt.* i–xvi, 1879, p. 13; Budde, *Theol. Lit.-zeit.* 1884, col. 211: notice in the first suggestion the ὁμοιοτέλευτον): but it is doubtful if such expedients are necessary.

8, 20. 2 Sa. 15, 37 ואבשלום יבוא (*went on to enter;* the actual entry is recorded later, 16, 15 בָּאוּ). 23, 10. 1 Ki. 7, 8b. 20, 33. 13, 20. Jer. 52, 7. Ezra 9, 4 וְאֵלַי יֵאָסְפוּ *came gathering* to me.

In poetry also it sometimes occurs immediately after a pf., in which case it indicates the rapid or instantaneous manner in which the second action is conceived as following the first: Ex. 15, 12. 14. Hab. 3, 10. Ps. 37, 14 f. 46, 7. 69, 33 (cf. 1 Sa. 19, 5). 74, 14. 77, 17[1].

28. But the impf. is also used in the same way of a single action in the *present* time, in order to express it with force, Gen. 37, 15. Nu. 24, 17 אֶרְאֶנּוּ *I see* him, but not now! 1 Sa. 21, 15 תִּרְאוּ. Jer. 6, 4 the day *hath turned* (pf.), and the shadows of evening יִנְטוּ *are beginning to* lengthen. Hos. 1, 2b (or freq. *plays* the whore). Hab. 3, 9. 12. Job 4, 5. 32, 19 יִבָּקַע *is ready to burst* (A.V.). Ps. 2, 2. 17, 12 he is like a lion יִכְסוֹף (*that is*) *eager* for prey (at the moment when he is eager). In poetry, after לְעֵת Dt. 32, 35[2]. בְּעֵת Job 6, 17. יוֹם Ps. 56, 4a.

29. More frequent is the use of the impf. as equivalent to the *future*—a use which is clearly only an extension of that noted in § 28: there the action is conceived to be taking place (but not completed) as the words are uttered; here it has not yet begun to take place at all, but its beginning to do so is contemplated in the future—nearer or more remote, as the context and sense demand. Numerous instances may readily be found, e.g. Gen. 12, 12b. 16, 12. 49, 1. Ex. 6, 1. 9, 5 etc.[3]

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[1] Ps. 66, 6. 104, 6 (where a word is interposed) are different. The same *ἀσύνδετον* is a favourite idiom with Hosea, 4, 7. 5, 10. 8, 3. 9, 6a (see § 154). 7, 9 (cf. *v.* 15): see also 2 Chr. 12, 7.

[2] This and the two following passages might also be explained by § 33. The infin. is the usual construction after עת or יום.

[3] In the *first* pers. *I shall*, Gen. 15, 8. Jud. 13, 22. 15, 18. Isa. 38, 11. Jer. 4, 21a. Job 17, 10: but most usually *I will*, 1 Ki. 2, 30. Ruth 1, 17. Gen. 2, 18. 6, 7. 8, 21. 12, 2 etc. Ps. 12, 6. 22, 26 etc. *I shall* is the

If the future is close at hand, the verb may be rendered almost indifferently by a present or future: 1 Ki. 1, 42 תְּבַשֵּׂר annunciaturus es, *announcest* or *wilt announce*, art on the point of announcing. Ps. 2, 2. 59, 9.

30. (2) So much for the impf. as denoting a single act. By what steps it in addition assumes a frequentative signification has been explained above: it only remains to give instances of its use.

(*a*) In past time: Gen. 6, 4 יָבֹאוּ (LXX rightly *οὗ ἐὰν εἰσεπορεύοντο*[1]). 30, 38 תָּבֹאן. 42 *would* not put them in (LXX *οὐκ ἐτίθει*). 31, 39 I אֲחַטֶּנּוּ *used to bear* the loss of it. Ex. 1, 12 in proportion as they *afflicted* it, so it *multiplied*, and so it *spread abroad*. 19, 19. 40, 36. 38 (*used* to be). Nu. 9, 16–23[a] (describing what the Israelites *used constantly* to do in the desert: *v.* 23[b] the whole is summed up, and stated generally as a single fact, in the pf. שמרו). Dt. 32, 16. 17. Josh. 23, 10 (*would* often pursue). Jud. 2, 18 (*would* repent). 6, 5 (*would* come up). 17, 6=18, 25 יעשה. 1 Sa. 2, 22. 9, 9 יִקָּרֵא. 18, 5. 21, 12 הֲלוֹא לָזֶה יְעַנּוּ is not this he of whom *they kept singing?* (on the well-known occasion 18, 6. 7). 2 Sa. 1, 22 the sword of Saul לֹא תָשׁוּב ריקם *never returned* (*was not wont* to return) empty. 12, 18 כי כן תלבשנה. 1 Ki. 3, 4. 5, 28 a month יהיו *would they be* etc. 6, 8. 7, 26 יָכִיל (*used to* or *would* contain). 38. 10, 5. 16 f. Isa. 1, 21 ילין *used* to dwell. 6, 2. 7, 23 (where the freq. and the fut. senses of the impf. meet in a single

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pure and simple future—German *ich soll, I am to* or *must;* the speaker's own inclinations are dormant, and he regards himself as the passive creature of circumstances: *I will*, on the contrary, is the exponent of a purpose or volition, and the *personal* interest of the speaker makes itself strongly felt. We may, if we please, substitute *I shall* for the more expressive *I will*, without materially altering the sense: the opposite change can, of course, not be made with impunity.

[1] On the frequentative force of *ἐάν, ὅταν, ἡνίκα ἄν*, etc. with the indic., in Hellenistic Greek, see Winer, *Gramm. of N. T. Greek*, § xlii. 5 (where, in the note, *this* passage is wrongly treated as an exception).

verse). 23, 7 etc. Ps. 42, 5. 55, 15 נְהַלֵּךְ . . . נמתיק סוד *used* to walk in the throng. 95, 10. 99, 6 f. (with *v.* 7 comp. Nu. 9, 23). 106, 43 (cf. Neh. 9, 27). Job 4, 3 f. 29, 2. 3. 7. 9. 12 f. 16 f. etc. 2 Chr. 24, 11. 25, 14.

31. The passages quoted will suffice amply to shew that when occurring in the historical books the impf. *always* expresses a deal more than the mere pf.: how far more picturesque, for example, is the scene Jud. 6, 5 rendered by the choice of יַעֲלוּ than it would have been had the writer simply used the pf. עָלוּ! No more, then, need be said on the necessity of discriminating the impf. from the pf.; but a few words must be added to guard against the error of confusing it with the participle.

The only species of continued action to which the impf. can give expression is the introductory process which may culminate in the finished act, §§ 27 γ, 28; and even here its use is limited: *mere* continuance in the sense of duration *without progress* is never expressed by the impf.; wherever this seems to be the case, closer examination will shew that the apparently continuous action is not really indivisible, but consists of a number of separate acts which, following one another in rapid succession, present the appearance of perfect continuity, and may be actually treated as such by language. But the fact that the same series of events may be treated under two aspects must not lead us to confuse the form which gives expression to the one with the form that gives expression to the other. The participle is the form which indicates continued action. 'Forty years long *was I grieved* with this generation:' the English is ambiguous; it may correspond either to an original participle or to an original impf. As a fact it corresponds to the latter: 'forty years long אָקוּט *was I grieved*,' i. e. upon repeated occasions, not of necessity continuously. Similarly, מֹשֶׁה יְדַבֵּר (Ex. 19, 19) is 'Moses *kept speaking*:' 'Moses *was speaking*' would be expressed by the part. מֹשֶׁה מְדַבֵּר (see 1 Ki. 1, 25. 42 etc.).

Thus while the impf. multiplies an action, the participle prolongs it. Sometimes the two forms are found in juxtaposition, as Ps. 99, 6; but however closely they may seem to resemble each other in meaning, and even where they would admit of an interchange without material alteration or detriment to the sense, it must not be forgotten that they are still quite different, and that each seizes upon and brings into view a different phase of action.

The difference between the impf. and the part. is most clearly displayed in passages like Gen. 29, 2 רבצים *were lying*, ישקו *used to water*. 1 Sa. 2, 13 f. 1 Ki. 10, 22. Isa. 6, 2 (*were standing*, at the period of the vision—*used to* cover, fly). At other times, on the contrary, the separate units of which the series actually consists are lost from sight and replaced by a continuous line[1]: e. g. Gen. 39, 6 אוכל (contrast 2 Sa. 12, 3 תאכל). 23 (contr. Ps. 1, 3. 1 Sa. 14, 47). 1 Ki. 17, 6 מביאים (but also ישתה). 2 Ki. 4, 5. Ps. 37, 12. 21. 26.

32. (β) In present time. It may be well here, in order to avoid confusion, to remind ourselves of an ambiguity existing in the English present tense. The present tense in English, besides declaring single and isolated facts, is used also to express general truths, to state facts which need not necessarily take place at the moment at which the assertion is being made, but which either *may* occur at *any* time or do *actually* occur periodically: in other words, the present tense appears as a *frequentative:* it *multiplies* an action, and distributes it over an indefinite number of potential or actual realizations. And, in fact, this use of the present in English to denote acts which may be or are repeated, is more

[1] Accordingly the participle, filling up the intervals which the impf. leaves open, is adapted to magnify or exaggerate any circumstance: cf. 1 Ki. 10, 24 f. Ex. 18, 14 (where observe how in this way Jethro represents Moses as being more fully and continuously occupied than the latter in his reply is willing to admit). Esth. 3, 2 and the reversal of the picture in 8, 17^{b}. 9, 3.

common than any other. But it is just this frequentative or distributive force which the Hebrew impf. possesses, asserting, as it does, facts which either *may be* realized at any time, or *are* realized repeatedly. Our present, therefore, and the Hebrew impf. agree in a remarkable manner in being able to specify actions which though not in themselves appertaining to any particular period of time whatever, *may* nevertheless make their appearance at any or every moment. This distinction between the two senses of our present tense it is important here to keep in mind: because the Hebrew impf., while but rarely found in one sense, is extremely common in the other. When, therefore, it is said that this tense corresponds to the English 'present,' it is necessary to have a clear and precise view of what this statement really means.

33. The imperfect, then, is found—

(*a*) Asserting facts of definite occurrence—within a longer or shorter period, as the case may be: Ex. 13, 15 אֶפְדֶּה *I redeem* (am in the habit of redeeming). 18, 15 the people יָבֹא *cometh* to me (keep coming). Gen. 10, 9. 22, 14 therefore יֵאָמֵר *it is said;* so יאמרו Nu. 21, 27. 2 Sa. 5, 8[b]; Nu. 17, 19 where אִוָּעֵד לָכֶם *I meet you.* Josh. 7, 12. Gen. 50, 3 כי כן ימלאו for so *are wont to be* fulfilled. Jud. 14, 10 for so young men *are accustomed to do.* 1 Sa. 9, 6. 2 Sa. 11, 20 how they *shoot.* Isa. 1, 23. 3, 16[b]. 5, 11. 23. 14, 8 *doth not come up* (never cometh up, where notice how *never* distributes the verb). 27, 3. 40, 20 יבקש. 41, 6 (a graphic verse). 44, 17. 59, 11. Jer. 9, 3. 20, 8. Hos. 4, 12 f. Ps. 3, 6 יסמכני *sustaineth* me. 10, 5. 8–10. 11, 2. 12, 3. 16, 4. 17, 9. 18, 29 because THOU *dost lighten.* 22, 3. 8. 18[b]. 23, 2 f. 35, 11 f. 41, 7 f. 42, 2[b]. 46, 5. 64, 5–7. 71, 17 till now *do* I *keep declaring* thy wonders. 94, 4–6. Job 9, 11 he *goeth* by me, and I *see* him not. 23, 8 f.; after מְדֵי *as often as,* Jer. 20, 8 (elsewhere the infinitive).

To express a characteristic of an individual: Ps. 1, 2 Happy is the man who . . . יֶהְגֶּה *meditateth.* 15, 4 who יְכַבֵּד

honoureth etc. 17, 14. 38, 14b. 52, 9 ישים (contrast 40, 5 שם). 58, 6. 91, 5–6. Isa. 40, 26 he *calleth*. 28 f. 41, 2 f. 56, 2.

Obs. Frequent as the idiom כה אמר י is in the prophets, the *impf.* יאמר י, introduced parenthetically, is exceptional and should be noticed: the call is not a single, momentary one, it is repeated, or at least continuing. The instances are Isa. 1, 11. 18. 33, 10 (Ps. 12, 6). 40, 1. 25. 41, 21. 66, 9: and similarly Jer. 51, 35. Pr. 20, 14. 23, 7.

(*b*) Asserting facts, which are not conceived as definitely occurring within stated or implied limits of time, but as liable to occur at any period that may be chosen: e. g. in the enunciation of general maxims or truths, Ps. 1, 3 which *giveth* (is always ready to give, in the habit of giving) its fruit in due season, and its leaf *doth* not *fade*, and all that *he doeth* he *maketh to prosper*, 4 *driveth away*, 5 *do not stand* or *endure* in the judgement (are not in the habit of doing so), 6 *perisheth* ('will' perish, i.e. either as a pure future, however sure it may seem to appear for a time, it will in the end perish; or as a frequentative, implying what may be expected to occur, wherever there is a דרך רשעים). 1 Sa. 16, 7 יִרְאֶה. 24, 14. Isa. 32, 6 A.V. the vile person *will* speak villainy (where 'will' expresses the habit, just as Pr. 19, 6. 24. Jer. 9, 4. 5 [Heb. 3. 4]). 40, 31. Hos. 4, 11. Ps. 5, 5–7. 7, 9 *judgeth* nations (a *general* attribute, forming the ground for the petition which follows). 10, 14. 11, 4. 17, 2b thine eyes *behold* (ground of 2a). 18, 26–28. 39, 7. 48, 8. 49, 11. 65, 9. 68, 20. 104, 11–17. 22; in the Proverbs constantly, the perfect (§ 12) being less usual, 10, 1. 2. 3. 4 etc. 26, 14 the door *turns* upon its hinge, and a sluggard upon his bed. Job 4, 19. 5, 2. 6. 7b. 12. 14. 18 etc.; regularly also in similes, where a *habit* or *custom* is referred to, as Ex. 33, 11 כַּאֲשֶׁר יְדַבֵּר as a man *speaketh* with his neighbour. Nu. 11, 12. Dt. 1, 44. 28, 49. Isa. 9, 2. 31, 4. 55, 10. 65, 8 etc.

34. This form of the verb, expressing as it does a general truth, is sometimes found attached to a substantive, the relative being omitted, to denote a general attribute belonging to

it: under these circumstances it almost degenerates into an adjective. Thus Gen. 49, 27 Benjamin is זְאֵב יִטְרָף a *ravening* wolf (lit. a wolf (that) ravens). Isa. 40, 20 לא ירקב. 51, 12 אֱנוֹשׁ יָמוּת *mortal* man. 55, 13 an *indestructible* sign. Hos. 4, 14 a people לֹא יָבִין without understanding; cf. Ps. 78, 6 בָּנִים יִוָּלֵדוּ (22, 32 the ptcp.). And in comparisons, to define more closely the *tertium comparationis*, whether it be regarded as expressing pictorially a particular act (§ 28), or as describing a general attribute: Dt. 32, 11. Ps. 42, 2 like the hind, *as* it desires (or, *which* desires) the water-brooks. 83, 15. 92, 13b. Job 7, 2 as a servant ישאף צל *that longeth* (or *longing*) for the shade. 9, 26b like a vulture יטוש עלי אכל *as it darts* upon the prey. Isa. 61, 10–11. 62, 1b כלפיד יבער as a *burning* lamp[1]. Or it is attached to another verb, so as to qualify it almost in the manner of an adverb, Isa. 30, 14 bruising לֹא יַחְמֹל *unsparingly*[2]. 42, 14a[3]. Ps. 17, 3 *without finding* (qualifying צרפתני). 26, 1 I have trusted לא אמעד *without wavering* (Hitz. Del.). Job 31, 34.

35. It appears from what has been said that both the perf. and the impf. alike, though upon different grounds, may be employed to designate those permanent relations which constitute on the one hand personal habits or attributes, on the other general truths. A permanent relation of this sort may, firstly, be viewed as a completed whole, and, as such, be denoted by the perfect; but inasmuch as a state or condition most commonly declares itself by a succession of acts —more or less numerous, as the case may be—its existence may, at the same time, with equal propriety, be indicated by the impf. as well. It is accordingly at once intelligible upon what principle we frequently find the two tenses alternating—

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[1] At other times, naturally, the perf. is more appropriate: Jer. 23, 9. Job 11, 16 כמים עברו as waters that *have passed by*. 13, 28b.

[2] If with Baer we read כתוּת, לא יחמל will qualify ושברה.

[3] The 'synchronistic' imperfect (אחריש and אתאפק being *synchronous* with the preceding החשיתי מעולם): cf. below, §§ 162, 163.

for example in the two members of a verse—when used in this way; the interchange being naturally encouraged by the agreeable variety and relief thereby afforded to the ear. Sometimes the change of tense may be retained in English: at other times it will be simpler and less pedantic—a minor grammatical distinction, unless absolutely indispensable for the sense, must be given up if its preservation involve stiffness or sound unnatural—to render both tenses by what is here, in English, the idiomatic equivalent of both, viz. the present. Yet, however we translate, it must not be forgotten that a difference still exists in the words of the original, and that each tense possesses a propriety the force of which is still perceptible, even where it cannot be reproduced; it is simply the imperfection, in this respect, of our own language, its deficiency in delicacy that necessitates our obliterating the lights and shades which an otherwise constructed instrument is capable of expressing.

Thus Isa. 5, 12b. 26, 9a. 33, 7. 40, 19. 44, 12–18. Hos. 7, 1b. Joel 2, 3a. 6. Hab. 3, 3. Ps. 2, 1 f. 5, 6 (*cannot stand ... thou hatest*). 6, 7 (the pf., as *v.* 8, expressing the Psalmist's completed state of exhaustion; the impff. his repeated acts). 7, 13 f. (he *hath* prepared instruments of death: his arrows he *maketh* (or *is making*) flaming!). 11, 5. 7 the upright *behold* his face. 16, 9 יִשְׁכֹּן (parallel to שְׂמֵחַ) *dwelleth* or *can dwell*. 22, 16. 23, 5. 26, 4. 5. 38, 12. 62, 5. 65, 14. 73, 7–9. 27. 74, 1. 84, 3. 93, 3. 102, 15. 109, 3 f. Pr. 4, 17. 12, 12. 28, 1. Job 3, 17. 11, 20. 12, 20 f. etc.[1]

36. It will now, moreover, be apparent how the impf., especially if suddenly introduced ἀσυνδέτως, may be effectively employed by prophets and poets in the description of a scene or series of events not merely to vary the style of narrative, but to throw into what would otherwise have been a motion-

[1] Cf. Lev. 11, 4–6, where the ptcp., impf., and pf. are employed in succession to describe, from different points of view, the same attribute.

less picture the animation and vigour of life. Thus, for example, Isa. 2, 8 and the land is filled with idols, to the work of their own hands יִשְׁתַּחֲוֻ *they bow down!* 3, 16b (designed to make the reader realize forcibly the image presented by וְהַלְּכָנָה). 5, 15b (in *v.* 15a. 16 the prophet is describing the future in terms of the past [see § 82]; in 15b he confers a passing vividness upon a particular feature in the scene). 9, 10b and his enemies *he armeth* (notice in 10a the *past* tense וַיְשַׂגֵּב). 16. 17. 18b. 19b the people has become as fuel for fire, none *spareth* (or *is sparing*) his brother! 10, 4. 28. 14, 10 (after the pff. in *v.* 9). 15, 2b. 3b. 4b. 24, 9 etc. Joel 2, 3 ff. Nah. 2, 5 f.

37. The imperfect, as we saw above, expresses not merely simple futurity (I shall, thou wilt, he will), but is equivalent further to the same auxiliaries in their other and more emphatic capacity as the exponents of volition (I will, thou shalt, he shall). We saw further that it possesses a potential and concessive force, corresponding to *can* and *may*. In past time or in oratio obliqua, these auxiliaries naturally suffer in English a change of tense, becoming respectively *should*, *would*, *could*, and *might*. Some instances of the impf. occurring with these significations will now be given: it is noticeable, however, that frequently we are by no means restricted to a single equivalent in translating[1].

(*a*) Gen. 41, 15 תִּשְׁמַע thou *canst* understand a dream (or simply *dost* understand; and similarly in the other passages). Ex. 4, 14. Nu. 35, 33 יְכֻפַּר. 1 Ki. 3, 8. 8, 27 *cannot* or *will not* contain thee. 2 Ki. 6, 12 Elijah *can* tell. Ps. 5, 8[2]. 18,

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[1] The senses which follow I have arranged simply with reference to the auxiliaries as they are met with in English, without stopping to enquire, except incidentally, how far any of the latter may bear equivocal meanings.

[2] Cf. Delitzsch: 'die Futt. *v.* 8 besagen was er thun darf und thun wird: durch die Grösse göttlicher Gnade *hat er Zugang* zum Heiligthum.' Comp. Isa. 26, 13.

30; in questions, Isa. 49, 15a *can* (or *will*) a woman forget, etc. Ez. 28, 9. Job 8, 11. 13, 16 (see Del.). 38, 34 f. 40, 25 f.; and with מי, Ps. 15, 1. Isa. 33, 14. Ex. 4, 11b who *maketh* (or *can make*) dumb? etc. Pr. 20, 9 מי יאמר זכיתי לבי.

(β) 1 Ki. 8, 5 oxen לֹא־יִסָּפְרוּ that *could* not be counted. Hos. 2, 1 (=innumerable). Jer. 24, 2 figs that *could* not be eaten (=uneatable). Ez. 20, 25 statutes which they *could* not live in. 1 Ki. 18, 10 that לֹא־יִמְצָאֲכָה he *could* not find thee (not לֹא־מְצָאֲךָ *had not found thee*). Job 38, 31 couldst thou bind? 39, 19 f.

38. (a) Gen. 2, 16 ye *may* eat. 42, 37 thou *mayest* (or *shalt*) kill my two sons, if etc. Ex. 19, 13b. Nu. 35, 28 the slayer *may* return. Lev. 22, 23. Dt. 5, 21 we see God *may* speak with a man, and he (yet) live. 12, 20 תֹּאכַל. Jud. 16, 6 wherewith thou *canst* (or *mightest*, A.V.) be bound. Isa. 40, 30 *may* weary. 49, 15b (cf. Ps. 91, 7). Ps. 30, 6. Job 14, 21. 21, 3b.

Sometimes in a defiant sense: Ps. 12, 9. 14, 6 תָּבִישׁוּ ye *may* put to shame (if ye like! it matters not). 46, 4. 91, 13. 109, 28 *they* may curse, but do *thou* bless! Mal. 1, 4.

In the preceding instances the impf. is equivalent to *may* in its permissive or concessive capacity; in those which follow, it corresponds to *may* as a term indicating indefiniteness. In the former case, therefore, the tense expresses an independent idea (*licet*, ἔξεστιν), and is consequently indicative; in the latter, it conveys the notion of dependency, and accordingly assumes the position and force of a true subjunctive.

Ex. 5, 11. 8, 23 we will sacrifice כַּאֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר as he *may* command us (see 10, 26). 9, 19 אשר ימצא LXX ὅσα ἐὰν εὑρεθῇ. 2 Ki. 12, 5. Pr. 4, 19.

(β) And in past time: Gen. 2, 19 πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐκάλεσεν. Ex. 34, 34 whatever he *might* be commanded. Dt. 4, 42 LXX τὸν φονεύτην ὃς ἂν φονεύσῃ τὸν πλήσιον αὐτοῦ. Josh. 9, 27 which he *might* choose. Jud. 17, 8. 1 Sa. 23, 13 ויתהלכו באשר יתהלכו

and they went about, wherever they went about, LXX καὶ ἐπορεύοντο οὗ ἐὰν ἐπορεύοντο[1] (in this, as in some of the other instances, the impf. *combines* the ideas of repetition and indefiniteness, and its force may be nearly represented by the English '-ever:' on οὗ ἐάν, comp. p. 34 *note*). 2 Sa. 15, 6 יָבֹא (or *used to come*). 1 Ki. 5, 8 יהיה. 2 Chr. 2, 11 (qui aedificaret). Ez. 1, 12 οὗ ἂν ἦν.

39. (*α*) Expressing a command: Gen. 3, 14. Ex. 21, 12 מוֹת יוּמָת: he *shall* be put to death. 14. 15 etc. Nu. 15, 14 as ye do, כֵּן יֵעָשֶׂה so *shall* he do. 36, 7. 9 יִדְבָּקוּ; and regularly in prohibitions (which indeed can be expressed in no other way), Gen. 2, 17. Ex. 20, 3–17 etc.

With a different *nuance:* Ex. 22, 26 in what (else) יִשְׁכָּב *is* he *to* lie? Nu. 23, 8 how אֶקֹּב *shall* I (or *can I, am I to*) curse? Job 9, 29 אנכי ארשע I *must* (or *am to be*) guilty (viz. in the judgement of another). 10, 15 לא אשא ראשי I *am not to* lift up my head. 12, 4 אהיה. 17, 6. 19, 16[b]: comp. Hitzig (who cites 1 Sa. 20, 5 MT. to-morrow I *ought* to sit. 28, 1[b] תצא[2]). 2 Ki. 20, 9 or יָשׁוּב *shall* it return ten degrees? Gen. 4, 7 ואתה תמשל בו *shouldest* or *must* rule over him. 20, 9 deeds אשר לא יֵעָשׂוּ that *should* or *ought* not to be done. 34, 7. Lev. 4, 13 אשר לא תעשינה. Job 15, 28 in cities לא ישבו להם which *should not have* inhabitants (lit. which should not sit for themselves: for the idioms see Is. 13, 20, and Ew. § 315[a], Ges.-K. § 119. 3[c], 2); and in dependent sentences, as Ex. 3, 3. 10, 26 we do not know מַה־נַּעֲבֹד how we *shall* (or *are to*) serve Yahweh, till etc. 18, 20. 1 Ki. 8, 36. Ps. 32, 8.

(*β*) And in past time:—Gen. 43, 7 הֲיָדוֹעַ נֵדַע *were* we possibly *to* know? (or *could* we know?). Jud. 5, 8 *was* there

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[1] On the *idem per idem* construction in this passage, see the author's *Notes on Samuel*, ad loc.; and comp. 2 Sa. 15, 20. Ex. 4, 13. 16, 23. 33, 19. 2 Ki. 8, 1. Ez. 12, 25. Zech. 10, 8, as also Ex. 3, 14 אהיה אשר אהיה *I will be that I will be*, on which see *Studia Biblica*, i. (Oxford, 1885), p. 15 ff., with the references.

[2] On 1 Sa. 14, 43 see *Notes on Samuel*, p. 292.

to be seen? 1 Ki. 7, 7 (=οὗ ἔμελλε κρίνειν). 2 Ki. 13, 14 the sickness אשר ימות בו which he *was to* die of. Jer. 51, 60: and involving the idea of an obligation, 2 Sa. 3, 33 *was* Abner *to* die as a fool dieth? (Germ. *sollte* A. *sterben* . . .?), in our idiom (the result anticipated *not* being realized), *ought* A. *to have* died . . .? (יָמוּת, quite different from הֲמֵת *did* A. die?). 2 Ki. 3, 27 A.V. his eldest son אשר ימלך that *was to reign* (i. e. *that ought to have reigned*) in his stead. Job 10, 18b אגוע verhauchen *hätte ich gesollt* = I *ought to have* expired. 19 אהיה . . . אובל[1]. And in the oratio obliqua, as Gen. 2, 19 to see מה יקרא what he *would* call them. 43, 7 כי יאמר. 25 for they heard כי שם יאכלו לחם that they *would* (or *were to*) eat bread there. 48, 17 ויראֿ יוסף כי ישית אביו that his father *was putting* etc. Ex. 2, 4. Nu. 15, 34. 24, 11 I said (that) I *would* honour thee. 1 Sa. 22, 22. Isa. 48, 8; 2 Ki. 17, 28 he taught them אֵיךְ יִרְאוּ how they *ought to* fear Yahweh. Further, with כִּי or אֲשֶׁר[2], after טוֹב, as 2 Sa. 18, 3 it is better כי־תהיה־לנו *that thou shouldest be* (ready) to help us from the city. Ruth 2, 22. Job 10, 3. 13, 9. Qoh. 5, 4 (אשר). 7, 18 (אשר)[3]; and also after words expressive of a desire or command, though mostly only in the later prose, where the earlier language would use a *direct* expression[4], as Neh. 2, 5. 7, 65 (=Ezra 2, 63). 8, 14 f. 13, 1. 19. 22. Dan. 1, 8. Esth. 2, 10. Job 36, 10; cf. *v.* 24. 37, 20b. In poetry (without כי or אשר), Lam. 1, 10: so, in inferior prose, Ezra 10, 8. Dan. 1, 5. Esth. 9, 27 f.[5]

(γ) Moreover, in questions after לָמָּה (or לָמָה), מַדּוּעַ, אֵיךְ, instead of the outspoken, categorical perf., the impf. as more

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[1] Where A.V. R.V. *should have been* must be taken in the sense of *ought to have been:* 'should have . . .,' as expressing merely a contingent *result*, would correspond to the Heb. perfect (see Job 3, 13: and §§ 39, 141).

[2] אשר in the sense of כי is chiefly (though not quite entirely) a late usage (Neh. Esth. Qoh. Dan. [but *not* Chron.]).

[3] The *inf.* is more usual with טוב: Gen. 2, 18. Jud. 18, 19 etc.

[4] *E.g.* in Esth. 2, 10 לאמר לא תגידי. Contrast especially 1 Chr. 21, 18 with 2 Sa. 24, 18.

[5] Cf. Lev. 9, 6. 2 Sa. 21, 4 (perhaps); also Jer. 5, 22. Ps. 104, 9. Pr. 8, 29.

courteous, more adapted to a tone of entreaty or deprecation, is often preferred[1]: thus Gen. 44, 7. Ex. 2, 13 why תַּכֶּה *shouldest* thou smite thy neighbour? 5, 15 (addressing a superior). 32, 11. 1 Sa. 21, 15. Ps. 11, 1. Job 3, 20[2]. Similarly, the less direct form of question (תָּבֹאוּ) מֵאַיִן תָּבֹא (or אֵי־מִזֶּה) *whence may you be coming?* appears to have been adopted from a sense of its greater politeness as the conventional greeting, in preference to the perfect (which indeed occurs but twice, Gen. 16, 8. 42, 7); e. g. Josh. 9, 8. Jud. 17, 9. 19, 17. Job 1, 7 etc.[3]

(δ) Ex. 3, 11 qualis sum כִּי אֵלֵךְ *ut adeam?* 16, 7. Nu. 11, 12. Job 3, 12. 6, 11. 7, 12 etc. 2 Ki. 8, 13 what is thy servant, the dog (2 Sa. 9, 8), that he *should* do this great thing? Isa. 57, 11. Ps. 8, 5 and in the parody Job 7, 17.

Obs. The analogous idiom with the *perfect* likewise occurs: Ruth 1, 12 that *I should have said*, I have hope. Gen. 40, 15 that they *should have* put me. 1 Sa. 17, 26[b]. Isa. 43, 22. Ps. 44, 19 f. that thou *shouldest have* crushed us; while in Isa. 29, 16 we find both tenses side by side. And with the ptcp., 1 Sa. 20, 1. 1 Ki. 18, 9. Ez. 24, 19. The perf. in such cases denotes the action as *completed;* the ptcp., as still in progress.

40. For the impf., as signifying *would* in the apodosis, and generally for its use in hypothetical propositions, see Chap. XI.

41. Lastly, the imperfect is used after *final* conjunctions, as (אֲשֶׁר) לְמַעַן, בַּעֲבוּר *in order that*, Gen. 27, 4. 10. 19. 25 etc. פֶּן *lest*, 3, 22; further, after אוּלַי *perhaps*, אִם *if*, אֲשֶׁר *whoso*, and other similar words. לְבִלְתִּי also, though construed with

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[1] And of course when the speaker desires to avert or deprecate an action which is only impending, or not finally completed, as Nu. 27, 4. 1 Sa. 19, 5. 17. 2 Sa. 16, 9; cf. also Gen. 44, 34. Ps. 137, 1 how *shall* (or *can*) we sing? Jer. 47, 7. 1 Sa. 20, 2 why *should* he hide? Contrast the pf. Gen. 26, 9. 2 Sa. 1, 14.

[2] Contrast the different language, 2 Sa. 16, 10. 1 Ki. 1, 6.

[3] So Dietrich, *Abhandlungen*, p. 111. Compare in Greek the modest expression of an opinion, or request, by the opt. with ἄν, e. g. Gorgias 449 B ἆρ' οὖν ἐθελήσαις ἄν, ὦ Γοργία, κ.τ.λ.

the infinitive by preference, is twice followed by the impf., Ex. 20, 20 לבלתי תחטאו. 2 Sa. 14, 14; and מִן occurs similarly once, Dt. 33, 11 מִן יְקוּמוּן *that they rise not* again (= מִמָּקוֹם=מֵאֲשֶׁר יְקוּמוּן, which would be the normal construction, Gen. 16, 2. 31, 29. Isa. 24, 10. Job 34, 30). For additional instances the reader is referred to § 115.

Obs. Two or three times פֶּן is found with a perfect, 2 Sa. 20, 6. 2 Ki. 2, 16 (followed by וְ·), the result feared being conceived as having possibly already taken place (exactly as Thuc. 3, 53 *νῦν δὲ φοβούμεθα μὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἅμα ἡμαρτήκαμεν*); cf. 10, 23. Thrice also, Jer. 23, 14. 27, 18. Ez. 13, 3, לבלתי is followed, apparently, by the same tense, though, as it would seem, incompatible with the meaning borne by this conjunction. But in Ezek. we must either render, 'and after (that which) they have not seen' [Ew. Hitz. Smend], or, as בלתי as a *categorical* negation with a finite verb is opposed to usage, read for ולבלתי לבלתי יראו, ראו 'that they (the people) should not see,' cf. *v.* 22[1]; in Jer. 27, the abnormal punctuation נֶאְאוּ seems due to a feeling—perhaps to a tradition—that the impf. was really demanded, and we should most probably therefore restore יֵאָאוּ, the first letter of which might readily drop out after the י of לבלתי (so Ew. § 337[b], König i. 645, etc.). In Jer. 23 (Graf's explanation being inconsistent with the meaning of לבלתי) it is likewise necessary to suppose an error of transcription, and for שָׁבוּ to restore either יָשֻׁבוּ or שׁוּב. Many instances of the accidental transposition of letters occur in the O. T.: 62 noted by the Massorah (some, however, assumed needlessly) are collected in the *'Ochlah we-'ochlah*, edited by Frensdorff (Hannover, 1864), No. 91; see e. g. Josh. 6, 13. Jer. 2, 25. 8, 6. 17, 23. 32, 23. In Josh. 4, 24 the perf. after למען is still less defensible: but here again the punctuation is already irregular (יְרָאתֶם, whereas elsewhere the pf. of יָרֵא exhibits uniformly *ṣere*), and with Ewald, § 337[b], König i. p. 637, and Dillmann, *ad loc.*, the infinitive יִרְאָתָם must be read.

42. The following passages are left to the reader to examine for himself: to some of them we may, perhaps, have occasion to revert elsewhere. (*a*) Jud. 6, 4. 1 Sa. 27, 9. 1 Ki. 7, 15. Pr. 7, 8. 1 Sa. 13, 17. Neh. 3, 14 f. Jer. 13, 7; לֹא יוּבַל Gen. 48, 10. Josh. 15, 63 Kt. 1 Sa. 3, 2. 2 Sa. 17, 17.

[1] Comp. Cornill, *ad loc.*, who, however, strangely retains the perfect.

(β) Gen. 2, 25 ולא יתבששו. Jud. 12, 6 ולא יכין. 1 Sa. 1, 7b. 2, 25. 27, 4 Kt. 2 Sa. 2, 28. 1 Ki. 1, 1. 8, 8. Jer. 5, 22. 6, 10. 20, 11. 44, 22. Ps. 44, 10. Job 42, 3. Lam. 3, 7. Cant. 3, 4. Dan. 12, 8.

43. At this point it may be worth while, even at the risk of some repetition, to indicate briefly one or two of the more important *general* results which I trust will have become clear in the course of this and the preceding chapter. The reader who has attentively followed the analysis which has been there given of the nature and use of the Hebrew tenses will, it is hoped, find himself able to appreciate and realize, more fully than was possible at an earlier stage, the truth and purport of the considerations advanced in the Introduction. He will recognize, in the first place, the importance and wide application of the distinction there drawn between *kind* of time and *order* of time. By means of this distinction it at once becomes possible to explain both the theory of the Hebrew tenses and the practice of the Hebrew writers. *Diversity of order is fully compatible with identity of kind;* this explains the theory: *identity of order in no way excludes diversity of kind;* this explains the practice.

'Diversity of order is compatible with identity of kind.' Differences of order (or date), then, are not *necessarily* attended by concomitant differences of tense: the *future*, as well as the past, may be indicated by the form expressive of the idea of completion; the *past* (under particular aspects), no less than the future, may be described by the form which denotes action as inchoative or incomplete. Each tense, indeed, but especially the imperfect, exhibits a singular flexibility: at the same time it will be clear that this flexibility does not overreach the limits prescribed by the most rigorous logic. The meanings assumed, however divergent, do not in reality involve any contradiction: a fundamental principle can be discovered which will embrace them all—a higher unity exists in which they meet and are reconciled. Although,

however, one paradox which the use of the tenses seems to present is hereby solved, there still remains another difficulty, which these considerations do not touch. If a difference of *tense* is no criterion of difference of *date*, if events occurring at every conceivable moment of time *must* be denoted by two forms, and *may* be denoted by one, how is it possible to avoid ambiguity? The answer has been already incidentally alluded to more than once. The *context*, intelligently apprehended, constitutes the differentiating factor which *fixes* the signification of the tense. Taken by itself the meaning of the tense may be ambiguous and uncertain: a reference to the context—to the whole, of which it is itself an inseparable part—makes clear the relation subsisting between them, and reduces the ambiguity to a minimum.

But, secondly, 'identity of order in no way excludes diversity of kind.' One and the same event may be described either as nascent, or as completed: each tense, therefore, preserves always its own proper force, which must not be lost sight of because difficult of reproduction in another language, or because the genius of our own tongue would have been satisfied with, perhaps, some more obvious mode of expression. The line of demarcation between the two tenses is as clearly and sharply drawn as between the aorist (or perfect) and the imperfect in Greek or Latin. Whichever tense is used, it is used by the writer *with a purpose:* by the choice of the other tense, the action described would have been presented under a more or less modified aspect. הֵן הִכָּה־צוּר וַיָּזוּבוּ מַיִם וְנְחָלִים יִשְׁטָפוּ Ps. 78, 20 the change of tense is no less marked, the colouring imparted by it to the description no less perceptible, than in the line '*Conticuere* omnes, intentique ora *tenebant*,' where the effect produced by the variation is closely similar. And often there is a manifest beauty and propriety in the tense selected. Ps. 19, 2–4 the *continual* declaration of the heavens, the *reiterated* announcement of day and night, the *established fact* that this proclamation is

audible wherever their dominion extends, could not be more concisely and expressively indicated than is here done by a simple variation in tense[1]. And few languages would indicate as much with greater ease and neatness, or by a lighter touch. This single instance will suffice to shew how much may be lost by disregarding a seemingly slight and trivial change: to examine and note the exact force of each tense he meets, until practice enables him to catch it instinctively and without reflection, should be the first duty of the student.

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[1] Compare Jer. 36, 18 (the process of dictation described with precision—ואני כתב על הספר בדיו . . . . ברוך מפיו יקרא אלי).

A curious misreading of a paragraph in Gesenius, in consequence of which the writer, without the smallest misgivings, transfers to the perfect a sense belonging to the imperfect, may be seen in the *Speaker's Commentary*, iv. 623[b].

CHAPTER IV.

The Cohortative and Jussive.

44. We saw above, § 23, how readily the imperfect might lend itself so as to become the vehicle for expressing a volition; and of its use with a permissive force we have already seen examples in § 38. There the imperfect appeared with its form unaltered: and this is often the case, not merely when this permissive force becomes so intensified as to be equivalent to a petition or a command (see, for example, Ps. 17, 8. 43, 1. 51, 9 f. 14. 59, 2. 60, 3. 61, 7 f. etc., where it is parallel to the imperative[1]), but also when it is used in the first person[2] to express an intention or desire on the part of the speaker—the mere future 'I shall' gliding insensibly into the more decided 'I will.' But Hebrew possesses two special forms, commonly known as the *jussive* and *cohortative*[3], which are very frequently used to indicate more explicitly when the imperfect bears these two significations respectively. Both these forms exist in Arabic in a more complete and original condition than they exhibit in Hebrew: developed at an early period in the history of the Semitic languages, in

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[1] And add Gen. 1, 9. 41, 34. Jud. 6, 39. 1 Ki. 15, 19. Isa. 47, 3. Ps. 109, 7. Job 3, 9. Neh. 2, 3 al. In many of these passages the unshortened form occurs in close proximity to an actual jussive.

[2] Not so often, however, as with the second or third persons, in which the modal force can be less frequently distinguished by the form: cf. 1 Sa. 12, 19. 2 Sa. 10, 12. Jer. 8, 14. Ps. 59, 17 (cf. 18). 2 Sa. 22, 50 (Ps. 18, 50 אזמרה). Jud. 5, 3. Job 21, 3. 33, 31 (13, 13 ארבה).

[3] I sometimes use the common term *voluntative* to embrace both.

Arabic after having reached a certain point of perfection, they there remained stationary, without experiencing any of the levelling influences which caused them partially to disappear in Hebrew. Although, however, limited in range of application, their distinctive character remained substantially unimpaired; and they continued to constitute an integral and important element in the syntax of the language.

45. The *cohortative* is scarcely ever found except with the first[1] person, either sing. or plur. as the case may be. It is formed by adding to the verb the termination ־ָה[2] (e. g. אֶקְטְלָה; but if preceded by a long vowel it is toneless, like ־ָה *locale*[3], and in accordance with the rule mentioned p. 18, as אֲשׁוּרָה), which has the effect of marking with peculiar emphasis the concentration of the will upon a particular object נֵלְכָה—*let us go, we would fain go*, the idea being expressed with more keenness and energy, and with a deeper personal interest or emotion, than by the mere imperfect נֵלֵךְ.

46. The *jussive*, on the other hand, belongs almost exclusively to the second and third persons[4] (in the second person principally after אַל, which is not used with the imperative). It is obtained by shortening the imperfect in such

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[1] In the 3rd pers. Dt. 33, 16 תָּבוֹאתָה (where the strange form can be hardly anything but an error for תָּבֹאנָה; see König i. p. 646f.; Ges.-K. § 48. 3 *Rem.*); Is. 5, 19 יָחִישָׁה . . . וּתְבוֹאָה; Ps. 20, 4 יִרְצֶה; Job 11, 17 תָּעֳפָה (see § 152. iii: Hitz. and Bickell, however, with Pesh. Targ. read a subst. תְּעָפָה). Job 22, 21 תְּבוֹאָתְךָ is supposed by those who defend the MT. (e. g. Del.) to be a case not of the *-ah* of the cohortative, but of a double feminine: far more probably, however, the text is in error (see König i. p. 644, and the suggestions in Delitzsch).

[2] Or once ־ֶה Ps. 20, 4, cf. 1 Sa. 28, 15; and similarly in the imperative once or twice, דְּעֶה Pr. 24, 14 for the usual דָּעָה, and רְגֶה Jud. 9, 29; compare Isa. 59, 5. Zech. 5, 4. Ez. 25, 13 (quoted by Delitzsch).

[3] In thus comparing the ־ָה *locale* with the ־ָה of the cohortative, I do not wish to assert or assume their original identity.

[4] The exceptions are 1 Sa. 14, 36. 2 Sa. 17, 12. Isa. 41, 23 Kt. 28. 42, 6; and cf. Job 23, 9. 11.

a manner as the form of each particular word will allow: e.g. יַכְרֵת from יַכְרִית, יֶ֫גֶל (through the intermediate, but seldom actually occurring type, יַגְלְ) from יַגְלֶה (Hif.), תְּגַל from תְּגַלֶּה, etc.[1] The parallelism of form between the jussive and the imperative (הַכְרֵת, הַ֫עַל, הַךְ, גַּל) makes it probable that the origin of this abbreviation or apocopation is to be traced to the quickened and hasty pronunciation of a person issuing a command: the curtness and compactness of the form corresponding to the abrupt and peremptory tone which the language of one in such a situation would naturally assume[2].

47. So much for the origin and primary meaning of these two modal forms. It only remains to mention, before noticing instances of their use, that in Hebrew many classes of verbs do not admit of the modifications of form by which they are distinguishable from the ordinary imperfect. Thus verbs ל״ה hardly ever[3] receive the ָה of the cohortative, and verbs ל״א only very rarely. The jussive is seldom distinguishable, except in verbs ע״ו, ל״ה, and the Hif'il generally; while before suffixes both forms are equally incapable of recognition[4]. From this it follows that they are not indis-

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[1] The analogy between the abbreviated forms in verbs ל״ה and the forms of segolate nouns is very complete and worth noticing: thus יַגְלְ : יֶ֫גֶל (presupposed from יַגְלֶה; cf. יַפְתְּ, יַרְדְּ) :: דֶּ֫רֶךְ : דַּרְךְ (presupposed from דַּרְכִּי); with יַ֫עַשׂ cf. נַ֫עַר, with יֶ֫תַע, פֶּ֫תַח, with תֵּ֫תַע, נֵ֫צַח, with אֵ֫רֶא and אֵ֫פֶן, שֵׁ֫בֶט, with יֵבְךְ the rare form נֵרְדְּ: in יְהִי from יִהְיֶה, the *yod* becomes vocalized exactly as in פְּרִי (in pause פֶּ֫רִי יֶ֫הִי); and in יִשְׁתַּ֫חוּ (in pause ָ֫חוּ) from יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה the same process is undergone by *waw* precisely as in יָ֫הוּ (in יְשַׁעְיָ֫הוּ etc.) from יַהְוֶה (cf. also אָ֫חוּ, שָׁ֫חוּ, and with a different vowel תֹּ֫הוּ, בֹּ֫הוּ). It should be stated that some of the forms quoted occur only after וַ·, and not as independent jussives.

[2] Cf. Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* § 210: 'cuius [modi iussivi] haec est summa lex, ut forma a fine rapidius et brevius enuncietur, prout ipse iubentis animus commotior, sermo rapidior est.'

[3] Twice (according to the punctuation): Isa. 41, 23. Ps. 119, 117.

[4] The only exceptions are Isa. 35, 4. Dt. 32, 7.

pensable elements in Hebrew; and the truth of the remark made at the beginning of the chapter, that the unmodified imperfect is sufficient for the expression of any kind of volition, becomes self-evident. So, too, it may be noticed that they are not always used, even in cases where their presence might naturally be expected: e. g. Gen. 19, 17. 1 Sa. 25, 25: Gen. 9, 25 (יהיה, but יהי, יפת). Jud. 6, 39[b]. 19, 11. Isa. 1, 25. Jer. 28, 6[a]. Ruth 1, 8 Kt. Job 3, 9[c] etc. Still, upon the whole, where the modal forms exist, they are employed by preference.

48. The ordinary usages of the cohortative and jussive are so readily intelligible that a small selection of instances will suffice, the variations in meaning presented by different passages depending entirely upon the tone and manner of the speaker and the position which he occupies relatively to the person spoken of or addressed. Both forms are often rendered more emphatic and expressive by the addition of the particle נָא; e.g. Gen. 18, 21 אֵרְדָה־נָּא. 30 אַל־נָא יִחַר לַאדֹנָי; 26, 28 תְּהִי נָא.

49. The cohortative, then, marks the presence of a strongly-felt inclination or impulse: in cases where this is accompanied by the ability to carry the wished-for action into execution, we may, if we please, employ *I, we will* . . . in translating; where, however, the possibility of this depends upon another (as when permission is asked to do something, or when the cohortative is employed in the plural, in accordance with the etymological meaning of the name, to instigate or suggest), we must restrict ourselves to some less decided expression, which shall be better adapted to embody a mere proposal or petition.

Thus (*α*) Gen. 12, 2 f. 18, 21 *I will* go down, now. 27, 41. 33, 12 etc. Isa. 8, 2. Ps. 7, 18 אֲזַמְּרָה *I will* sing. 9, 2 f. 13, 6. 18, 50 etc.; in 1 pers. plur. Gen. 22, 5 נֵלְכָה *we* (I and the lad) *will* go. 24, 57. 29, 27.

(*β*) Gen. 33, 14. 50, 5 אֶעֱלֶה־נָּא וְאֶקְבְּרָה *let me* go up, I

pray, and bury my father. Ex. 3, 18 *we would fain* go. Nu. 21, 22 (in the message to Sihon, craving leave to pass through his territory) *let me* pass through. Jud. 12, 5 *I should like* to cross. 15, 1 אֲבֹאָה. 1 Sa. 28, 22. 1 Ki. 19, 20 etc. Ps. 17, 15 O *may I be* satisfied . . . ! 25, 2. 39, 5. 61, 5. 65, 5. 69, 15 אַל־אֶטְבְּעָה *let me* not (or *may I* not) sink! Jon. 1, 14[1]: and as a literal 'cohortative,' Gen. 11, 3. 19, 32, and often; Jer. 18, 18. Ps. 2, 3. 34, 4 etc.; cf. 85, 9. Hab. 2, 1 אעמדה ואתיצבה.

50. In the same way the jussive assumes different shades of meaning, varying with the situation or authority of the speaker: it is thus found—

(*a*) As a 'jussive,' in the strict sense of the term, to convey an injunction or command, Gen. 1, 3 יְהִי אוֹר etc. 22, 12. 30, 34. 33, 9. 45, 20. Ex. 16, 19. Dt. 15, 3. Isa. 61, 10 תגל נפשי. Ps. 13, 6. 97, 1 etc. 2 Chr. 36, 23; and the same in a tone of defiance or irony[2], Ex. 10, 10 יהי כן יי עמכם וגו׳. Jud. 6, 31 if he is a god יָרֶב לוֹ *let him* (or *he may*) strive for himself! Isa. 47, 13. Jer. 17, 15.

Obs. In commands אַל (*do not*) and לֹא (*thou shalt not*) are sometimes found interchanging: see Ex. 23, 1. 34, 3. Lev. 10, 6. Jud. 13, 14. 1 Ki. 20, 8. Ezra 9, 12. But only very seldom indeed is the jussive (or cohortative) form employed after לא: Gen. 24, 8. 1 Ki. 2, 6. 1 Sa. 14, 36. 2 Sa. 17, 12. 18, 14.

Sometimes, from the circumstances of the case, the command becomes a permission: so Num. 24, 7 וְיָרֹם and *let* his king *be higher* than 'Agág, 19 וְיֵרֶד and *let* him *rule*. Deut. 20, 5. Isa. 27, 6 (where observe the simple impf. יָצִיץ parallel to a jussive). 35, 1 f. Hos. 14, 6 f. I will be as the dew to Israel: *let* him flourish וְיַךְ *and strike forth* his roots like

[1] Cf. Job 32, 21[a] אל־נא אשא פני־איש 'I *hope I may not* shew unfair favour to any one.'

[2] Cf. the imperative 1 Ki. 2, 22. Isa. 47, 12. Job 40, 10; Ez. 20, 39. Amos 4, 4. 1 Ki. 22, 15. Nah. 3, 15[b].

Lebanon. Zech. 10, 7 יגל לבם. Ps. 14, 7 *let* Jacob rejoice. 22, 27 *let* your heart revive. 69, 33. 2 Ki. 2, 10.

(β) In a somewhat weaker signification, to impart advice or make a suggestion:—

Gen. 41, 33 f. and now יֵרֶא *let* Phar'oh *look out* a man etc. Ex. 8, 25. Jud. 15, 2. 1 Ki. 1, 2. Ps. 27, 14 (31, 25). 118, 1–4. Pr. 1, 5. 9, 4 etc.

(γ) To express an entreaty or request, a prayer or wish, and in particular blessings or imprecations:—

Gen. 9, 27. 31, 49 Yahweh יִצֶף *watch* between me and thee! 44, 33 יֵשֶׁב־נָא *let* thy servant remain, I pray. 45, 5. Ex. 5, 21. Nu. 12, 12. Dt. 28, 8. 1 Sa. 1, 23. 24, 16. 1 Ki. 10, 9. 20, 32. Ps. 7, 6. 27, 9. 35, 6. 69, 26. 80, 18. 109, 12–15. 19. 2 Chr. 14, 10b (a prayer like Ps. 9, 20).

Obs. In the second person the jussive is very rare, except after אַל, its place being naturally occupied by the imperative; see, however, 1 Sa. 10, 8. Ez. 3, 3. Ps. 71, 21 תֶּרֶב O multiply my greatness! Dan. 9, 25; and cf. the phrase ירוע תדע, Gen. 15, 13. 1 Sa. 28, 1. Jer. 26, 15. Pr. 27, 23 al. בין תבין, 23, 1 (the special form not being needed, § 44).

51. Thus far all is plain and clear. The use of both the modal forms is so simple and natural as seemingly to preclude even the possibility of any obscurity or difficulty emerging. And yet we are on the verge of what may be termed the *vexatissima quaestio* of Hebrew syntax.

Does the cohortative ever signify '*must?*' Startling as such a question may appear, after what has been said respecting the nature of this mood, and corroborated by the examples cited in proof of it, it is nevertheless a question which has to be asked, and one to which we must endeavour to find, if possible, a satisfactory answer. The fact is, that a small number of passages exist in which the intention or wish which the cohortative properly expresses, appears to be so limited and guided by external conditions imposed upon the speaker that the idea of impulse from within seems to disappear before that of compulsion from without. So much

so is this the case that many modern grammarians do not hesitate to affirm that under such circumstances the cohortative has the signification *must*[1]. Such a sense, however, is so completely at variance with the meaning this form bears elsewhere that considerable caution should be taken before adopting it: indeed, stated absolutely and unreservedly, it cannot be adopted at all. Now it is observable that in almost all the passages in question the doubtful expression occurs in the mouth of a person suffering from some great depression or distress: however *involuntary*, therefore, the situation itself may be in which he is placed, the direction taken by his thoughts is *voluntary*, at any rate so long as his circumstances do not wholly overpower him. His thoughts may, for example, either suggest some action tending to relieve his feelings, or they may form themselves into a wish expressive of disconsolate resignation.

52. By keeping these considerations in mind, we shall generally be able to interpret the cohortative without departing so widely from its usual signification as to do violence to reason. How natural, Ps. 42, 5. 10, for the exiled poet to find relief[2] in tearful recollections of the days כי אעבר בסך; or, *v.* 10, to give free course, as Job 10, 1, to his plaint! And similarly 55, 3. 18. 77[3], 4. 7[a, b]. Isa. 38, 10 (in *despair*,

[1] Comp. Ewald, § 228[a]; Böttcher, ii. 186; Hupfeld and Delitzsch on Ps. 55, 3: on the other hand, Müller, *Schulgrammatik*, § 382[a].

[2] This is of course said upon the assumption that Hitzig's objection, that 'pouring out one's soul' is not a voluntary act, is unfounded. Comp., however, the imperative שפכו לב Ps. 62, 9. Lam. 2, 19; and for the practical identity of נפש and לב in expressions of this sort, comp. Ps. 61, 3 with 107, 5. Jon. 2, 8.

[3] The following appears to be the best articulation, grammatically, of this difficult Psalm. *Ver.* 3 is evidently descriptive of the past, *I sought*, etc.; *v.* 4 pictures, under the form of a quotation, how the Psalmist at the time thus indicated *abandoned* himself to his distress of mind; *vv.* 5 f. the narrative is resumed; *v.* 7[a, b] again, as *v.* 4, represents his passionate reflections on the ימים מקדם (cf. Job 29, 2); *vv.* 7[c]–10 'and my spirit inquired, (saying), "Will the Lord cast off for ever?"' etc.;

'let me go, then; I am ready to die,' the feeling פקדתי יתר שנותי extorts from him the wish to relinquish the life now suddenly become a βίος ἀβίωτος: comp., though the tone is different, Gen. 46, 30). 59, 10 (describing the *efforts* made to find the way[1]). Jer. 3, 25 נשכבה בבשתנו (in despondent resignation, as perhaps Ps. 57, 5 with the same verb).

53. In these passages it will be observed that while the usual signification of the cohortative seems at first sight somewhat obscured, there is no necessity to suppose it absent, still less to imagine it superseded by a contrary signification. And, in fact, Ewald's words, § 228ᵃ, are only to the effect that the cohortative is used to designate voluntary actions, whether they proceed from perfectly free choice, or are '*at the same time* conditioned from without[2].' This language is intelligible and consistent; but commentators sometimes forget the limitation with which it is accompanied, and express themselves as though they thought it possible for the cohortative to denote external compulsion ('must') *alone*, to the exclusion of any internal impulse occasioned or suggested by it[3]. Accordingly they find no difficulty in accounting for the presence of the form under discussion in Jer. 4, 19. 21. Ps. 88, 16, where אָחֹ֫וּלָה, אֶשְׁמְעָה, אָפֹ֫וּנָה seem to be *exclusively* 'determined from without,' in such a manner as to leave the speaker without even the most limited scope for personal choice. But upon what principle the cohortative can then be employed to express such an idea with any propriety, it is impossible to understand; in preference, there-

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lastly, *v.* 11 *Then I said*, introduces the thought with which he finally put his questionings to silence. (So Cheyne.)

[1] Cf. Delitzsch's note: 'the impulse of self-preservation, which drives them in their ἀπορία to feel for a way of escape.'

[2] Similarly Delitzsch on Ps. 55, 3: the cohortative not unfrequently denotes '*ich soll* oder *ich muss* von *Selbsterregungen*, die von aussen bedingt sind.'

[3] E. g. even Hupfeld expresses himself incautiously on Ps. 57, 5. 88, 16.

fore, to supposing that the ־ה has in these passages assumed a meaning diametrically opposed to, and incompatible with, that which it holds elsewhere, it is better to adopt the opinion of Hitzig that it has *lost its significance*[1]. This is certainly the case at times with the so-called ־ה *locale* (in such words as עֻזָּתָה, עוֹלָתָה, which appear as simple nominatives, or לִישׁוּעָתָה, לְשַׁאֲלָה, where it is at least redundant after the preposition[2]), and is more in accordance with other phenomena of language than the violent transition which the other explanation involves[3].

54. We saw above, § 27, how the impf. could be used in poetry to give a vivid representation of the past; and there are a few passages in which, as it seems, the cohortative is employed similarly, the context *limiting* the action to the past, and the mood, apparently, indicating the energy or impulse with which it was performed. So 2 Sa. 22, 38 ארדפה (for which in Ps. 18 ארדוף). Ps. 73, 17 אבינה . . . עד אבוא לאחריתם (under the influence of the rhythm of Dt. 32, 29? Hitz.). Pr. 7, 7 אָבִינָה . . . וָאֶרְאֶה. Job 19, 18 אָקוּמָה וידברו־בי[4] (on 30, 26 comp. § 66 *n.*). Possibly, also, Ps. 55, 18[a]; on 66, 6, however, see Perowne's note: and Hab. 2, 1 the eagerness of the watchman preparing for his post is graphically depicted

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[1] Hitzig himself explains the other passages in the same way, or else by supposing נָ omitted: but in most of them, at any rate, the more emotional and emphatic form appears appropriate.

[2] See Hupfeld on Ps. 3, 3, and especially Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des St. constr. im Hebräischen*, pp. 128, 143 f.

[3] The real difficulty lies not in understanding how the original meaning of a termination may have been lost or forgotten, but in understanding how at one and the same time it could have been treated as both significant and non-significant. And yet, even if we accept Hitzig's view as at least defensible by analogy, this is what must have been done by Jeremiah. The cases referred to above are scarcely in this respect parallel.

[4] Or should we supply in thought אמרתי before אקומה? Hitz. 'will ich aufstehn, so reden sie über mich.'

in the form of a quotation, the narrative proper beginning only with *v.* 2: Cant. 3, 2[a] is similar, the quotation implied by the cohortative being followed in 2[b] by the perfect בקשתי. Cf. Ps. 77, 4 (p. 56 *n.*).

55. The appearance of the cohortative after אוּלַי Ex. 32, 20, cf. Jer. 20, 10, or לְמַעַן Ps. 9, 15, will not require further comment. In Ps. 26, 6. 71, 23. 77, 12 *for I will remember*, it retains its usual force, merely indicating more decidedly than the bare impf. would have done the unconstrained readiness felt by the writer. It is found also in the phrase עַד אֶרְנִּיעָה *while I would wink*, Prov. 12, 19: cf. Jer. 49, 19= 50, 44.

56. We may now turn to the anomalies presented by the use of the jussive. Not unfrequently in poetry the jussive occurs under circumstances where, from the general context, the simple imperfect would seem the more natural form to employ; and where, owing to the consequent difficulty of marking its special force in translating, its presence is apt to be overlooked. The explanation of this usage will be best introduced and most readily understood, if we first of all notice some instances in which the *imperative* is similarly employed. The difficulty, it will be seen, is this: we seem to require only the statement of a *fact;* we find instead a form preferred which expresses a *command:* are we now at liberty to disregard the mood altogether, and to treat the jussive as equivalent to a simple imperfect? or ought we rather to seek for some explanation which will account for and do justice to the form chosen by the writer? Although a few passages remain unexplained, the analogy of the imperative, the meaning of which can be neither forgotten nor evaded, will lead us to decide in favour of the latter alternative.

57. The appearance of imperative and jussive alike, under the circumstances alluded to, is to be referred simply to a familiar characteristic of the poetical imagination. To the poet, whatever be his language or country, the world is

animated by a life, vibrating in harmony with his own, which the prosaic eye is unable to discern: for him, not merely the animal world, but inanimate nature as well, is throbbing with human emotions, and keenly susceptible to every impression from without (e.g. Ps. 65, 14. 104, 19. 114, 3–6. Isa. 35, 1 f.); he addresses boldly persons and objects not actually present (e. g. Isa. 13, 2. 23, 1 f. 4. 40, 9 etc. Ps. 98, 7 f. 114, 7 f.), or peoples a scene with invisible beings, the creations of his own fancy (Isa. 40, 3. 57, 14. 62, 10); he feels, and expresses, a vivid sympathy with the characters and transactions with which he has to deal. The result is that instead of describing an occurrence in the language of bare fact, a poet often loves to represent it under the form of a command proceeding from himself. Now in the majority of cases, those viz. which resemble Isa. 23, 1 etc., no difficulty arises: the difficulty first meets us in those passages where the command seems to be out of place, in consequence of the state of things previously described rendering it apparently superfluous and nugatory. But the fact is, these are only extreme instances; and the two considerations just mentioned will really be found sufficient to explain the anomaly.

Perhaps the strongest case is Isa. 54, 14 '*be far* from anxiety, for thou wilt not fear; and from terror, for it will not come nigh thee,' where the imperative occurs in the midst of a series of verbs describing the Zion of the future, and is clearly only the more nervous and energetic expression of what in prose would run 'thou *mayest* be far from anxiety,' or (changing the form) 'thou *needst* not be anxious.' Isa. 33, 20 is similar. The construction is more frequent in negative sentences, i. e. with אַל and the jussive: so Ps. 41, 3. Job 5, 22. Prov. 3, 25. Isa. 2, 9. Jer. 7, 6 (where וְדָם נָקִי אַל־תִּשְׁפְּכוּ, involving a change of construction, is in fact parenthetical). Cant. 7, 3.

58. These passages, in all of which the verb is in the second person, and so distinctly imperative, establish a pre-

cedent which justifies us in interpreting the instances which follow in the same way. It will be seen that by adhering to the strict grammar, instead of deserting it on account of a superficial difficulty, a more pointed and appropriate sense will disclose itself. (The verb will now be always in the third person.) Ps. 34, 6[1]. 50, 3 וְאַל־יֶחֱרַשׁ *and let him not be silent* (the scene is introduced by the pf. הוֹפִיעַ *v.* 2: but the poet, instead of continuing in the same style, and writing simply 'he comes and is not silent,' imagines himself as an eager and interested spectator, praying the Deity, already visible in the distance, to come near, Ps. 7, 7 f., and declare his will). 66, 7 (where, however, the jussive is probably to be understood as conveying a *literal* warning). 121, 3 (contrast לֹא 4: 'אַל adds to לֹא the sympathy of the speaker with the expected future, and expresses consequently a hope' (Hitz.): in *v.* 4 this hope is raised to a certainty by לֹא). Jer. 46, 6. 51, 3. Zech. 9, 5. 10, 7 (§ 50 *a*). Job 20, 17 אַל־יֶרְא (the interest felt by the writer betrays itself by causing him to glide insensibly from the language descriptive of a fact into that which is expressive of emotion). And without a negative: Ps. 11, 6. 12, 4. 72. 8. 13. 16. 17. 85, 14 let justice go before him and etc. (as in the passages quoted from Jer. and Zech., a future fact represented by the poet under the form of a command). Dt. 28, 8 יְצַו יְהוָה אִתְּךָ אֶת־הַבְּרָכָה. 21 יַדְבֵּק. 36 יוֹלֵךְ.

Hitherto we have found no occasion to relinquish the recognized and usual signification of the jussive. Some other passages, in which the occurrence of this mood seems abnormal, will be noticed in the chapters which follow: and a few that remain even then will be examined in Appendix II.

Obs. 1. The true character of the cohortative, although now universally recognized, was for long disregarded or unobserved: it was for the

[1] Sept. Pesh. Jerome, however, express here פניכם, with imperatives in 6[a]. This reading is probably correct (so Ewald, Cheyne, Kirkpatrick).

first time clearly and convincingly established by Gesenius, in his *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache* (Leipzig 1817), App. ii. p. 870, where a large number of instances are collected and examined, 'since it is not fair or right that a matter which can be despatched at a single stroke, if one will only submit to the labour of exhaustive investigation, should remain any longer an object of uncertainty and dispute.' Previous grammarians had, however (as Gesenius himself remarks), maintained the same opinion: and, indeed, so soon as Arabic began to be studied systematically, with a view to the illustration of Hebrew, the analogies presented there by the use of the 'jussive' and 'energetic' moods could not fail to arrest attention. Accordingly we find Albert Schultens in his *Institutiones ad fundamenta Linguae Hebraeae* (Lugduni Batavorum 1756), p. 432, asserting that by the addition of ה—'simul *accessionem* fieri *significationis* non ambigendum;' and Schröder, *Institutiones* (Ulmae 1785), p. 198, speaking of it as 'vocum formam et significationem augens.' A few years later, however, Stange in his *Anticritica in locos quosdam Psalmorum* (pars prior, Lipsiae 1791), p. 45, writes as follows on the same subject:—'Quod supra scripsi, ה quod vulgo, idque male paragogicum vocant, non temere vocabulis apponi, sed futuris et imperativis adiectum . . . . exprimere Latinorum coniunctivum aut si mavis subiunctivum, multis fictum et falsum videri facile possum coniicere; nam quae imberbes in Grammaticis non didicimus, ea fere contemni ac reiici solent: id tamen ex multis exemplis verissimum reperiri, nemini in posterum dubium esse debet.' It appears, then, that in the Hebrew grammars of his day, *quarum tamen numerus infinitus est, ac quibusque nundinis Lipsiensibus augetur* (ibid.), the view thrown out by Schultens and Schröder had met with as little approval as at the time when Gesenius published his *Lehrgebäude*. Stange himself supports his statement by a considerable list of instances, though not so copious or accurate as the one afterwards given by Gesenius.

Obs. 2. The existence of a special meaning attaching to the shortened forms of the impf., at least in the case of the verbs ל״ה, had been previously noticed, though here likewise it was Gesenius who, in the first edition of his smaller grammar (1813), and more fully in his *Lehrgebäude*, confirmed and demonstrated the correctness of the observation. Thus Schröder, p. 212, writes:—'Secunda ratio retracti ex syllaba ultima ad penultimam accentus posita est in singulari emphasi, qua vox pronunciatur, uti fit in mandato, hortatione, precatione, vel in interdicto, dehortatione, deprecatione, vel in voto, vel ubi gravior quidam subest animi adfectus:' compare also Schultens, p. 443. So far, however, as the *theory* here stated is concerned (which is identical with Ewald's, § 224[a, c], above § 46, *note*), it is singular that, if it be true, the retro-

cession is not more frequent: except in the few cases cited below, § 70 (where it is to be attributed to the presence of אל), the tone never recedes in the jussive beyond the limits of verbs ל״ה. It is plain that the jussive *shortened* (or, as in Arabic, *cut off*) the last syllable of the verb: there seems to be no evidence that in doing this it likewise produced any retrocession of the tone. On the jussive forms of verbs ל״ה compare Olshausen, § 228[a].

Obs. 3. As regards any ambiguity which may be thought to arise from the use of the unmodified impf. to denote a command or wish, the reader will remember that our own language offers a close parallel. I quote the following from E. A. Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, a book in which the method commended in the extract from Gesenius (see Obs. 1) has been admirably carried out, § 365:—'The reader of Shakespeare should always be ready to recognize the subjunctive, even where the identity of the subjunctive with the indicative inflexion renders distinction between two moods impossible except from the context. Thus:

"Therefore take with thee my most heavy curse,
Which in the day of battle tire thee more
Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st!
My prayers on the adverse party *fight*,
And there the little souls of Edward's children
Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
And *promise* them success and victory."
Rich. III. iv. 4. 187 ff.'

Add further:

'But all the charms of love
Salt Cleopatra, *soften* thy waned lip!'
Ant. and Cl. ii. 1, 20–21.

And (from § 364):

'For his passage,
The soldiers' music and the rites of war
Speak loudly for him.'
Hamlet v. 2. 409–411.

CHAPTER V.

The Voluntative with Waw.

59. In the present chapter we have to examine the use of the imperfect when combined, in its capacity as a voluntative, with the simple or *weak* וְ (with *shwa'* וְיִקְטֹל, וְאֶסְלַח: when the first letter of the verb has *shwa'* likewise, we obtain, of course, the forms וְיַדְבֵּר, וְתְהִי, וַאֲנַדְלָה: these must be carefully distinguished from וַיִּקְטֹל, וַאֶסְלַח, וַיְדַבֵּר, וַתְּהִי, וַאֲנַדְלָה). Inasmuch as the particular signification it then assumes depends upon its being, not a *mere* imperfect, but a *voluntative*, it is important to recollect what was remarked in § 44, that the voluntative force may be really present even though the corresponding modal form does not meet the eye.

60. This weak וְ is used with the imperfect—as a jussive or cohortative by preference, if these exist as distinct forms, though not exclusively even then—in order to express the design or purpose of a preceding act, which it does in a less formal and circumstantial manner than בעבור, למען etc., but with greater conciseness and elegance. An instance or two will make it clear in what way this is effected. 1 Sa. 15, 16 הֶרֶף וְאַגִּידָה let alone *and I will tell* thee: inasmuch as it is the wish to tell which occasions the utterance of הֶרֶף, this is equivalent to saying 'let alone *that* I may tell thee.' Gen. 19, 20 let me flee thither וּתְחִי *and let* my soul live (=*that* it may live). Jer. 38, 20. Ex. 10, 17 entreat God וְיָסֵר *and may he* remove (=*that* he remove) from me only this death[1]. In

[1] As this combination of the voluntative with וְ expresses an *ulterior issue*, advancing beyond, but regulated by, the principal verb, it is called

translating, we may sometimes preserve the force of the jussive or cohortative; sometimes it is better to employ *that:* care ought to be taken, however, never to confuse (say) וַיְהִי with either וְהָיָה or וַיִּהְיוּ, from both of which it is entirely distinct, but to both of which it may seem superficially similar in meaning—to the former when referring to future time, to the latter when relating to the past.

61. The ambiguity, so far as the future is concerned, arises from the following cause. In English, when we desire to express our opinion that one given event will occur in consequence of another, we commonly employ the *future*, provided that this second event may be viewed by the speaker as more or less probable in itself—not as purely dependent upon the preceding action as its antecedent: in other words, our language *states* only the *post hoc*, leaving the *propter hoc* to be *inferred* from the juxtaposition of the words in the sentence. Thus, if we regard the result as tolerably certain, we say *and it will . . .*; if as uncertain, we say *that it may . . .*: we *can*, of course, employ the latter form in both instances, but our idiom *prefers* the former, if the circumstances will allow its use. Hebrew, on the other hand, employs the latter form regularly: hence it results that the same phrase can be rendered into English by *two* equivalents, one of which at the same time corresponds in addition, so far as the mere words go, to another totally different expression in Hebrew. The fact, however, that *and it will be* corresponds to וְהָיָה as well as to וַיְהִי must not mislead us into imagining the latter to be identical with the former; for in meaning and use alike the two are quite distinct. To avoid confusion, therefore, it is safer, as well as more accurate, when we meet with a jussive after ו, either to preserve the jussive form, or to confine ourselves to the perfectly legitimate equivalent, *that*

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by Ewald the *consecutive* or 'relatively-progressive' voluntative. (Respecting these terms more will be found, p. 71, *note* 4.)

and the subjunctive. In Ex. 10, 17 we at once feel that we cannot render *and he shall remove: v.* 21 on the contrary, for וְיִהְיוּ the sense would *permit* the rendering *and there shall be*, the writer, however, as before, brings the result into more intimate connexion with the previous act נְטֵה, *that there may be:* so 7, 19[a] וְיִהְיוּ that they *may* become, but 19[b] והיה and there *will* be.

62. The following examples will sufficiently illustrate the construction:—Lev. 9, 6 this shall ye do וְיֵרָא *that* the glory of Yahweh *may appear*. 26, 43 וְתֵרֶץ. Nu. 25, 4. Amos 5, 14 *that he may be*. Ps. 9, 10 וְיִהְיוּ *and let Yahweh be* etc., or, in so far as this is a consequence of the characteristics described 8f., *so* may he be, or *that* he may be a high tower etc. 90, 17 וְיִהְיוּ (a deduction from *v.* 16). Mic. 7, 10; 1 Sa. 7, 3. 18, 21. 28, 22 ויהי בך כח *that so* thou mayest have strength. 1 Ki. 22, 20. Job 16, 21. Isa. 5, 19 (parallel לְמַעַן). 35, 4. Ps. 39, 14 *that* I may look bright. 41, 11 etc.; Pr. 20, 22 wait for Yahweh וְיֹשַׁע and he will save thee (not as an *absolute* future, but dependent on קַוֵּה being carried into effect)[1]. 2 Ki. 5, 10[b]. After מי, Jer. 9, 11 מי האיש החכם וְיָבֶן את זאת. Hos. 14, 10. Ps. 107, 43[2]; Esth. 5, 3. 6. 7, 2. 9, 12 וְתֵעָשׂ after *What is thy request?* comp. 1 Sa. 20, 4.

Instances in which the special forms are not used:—Ex. 14, 1 וַיָּשֻׁבוּ etc. 2 Sa. 9, 1. 3. 16, 11 וְיִקַּלֵל. 24, 21 (cf. 2 Chr. 29, 10). Isa. 43, 9[b]. 55, 7 וירחמהו. Job 21, 19. 32, 21. 38, 35. Jon. 1, 11 what shall we do וְיִשְׁתֹּק *that* the sea may be calm? Ps. 59, 14 *and let* them (=*that* they *may*) know. 86, 17. Neh. 2, 5; Jer. 5, 1[b].

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[1] Comp. below, §§ 151 *Obs.*, 152.—It is only the *connexion* which sometimes permits the jussive to be rendered *must;* e.g. 1 Ki. 18, 27 perchance he sleepeth ויקץ *so let him* be awakened, where the general sense is fairly expressed (as A.V.) by *and must be awakened.*

[2] Elsewhere, in answer to . . . . מי, we find the simple impf., or the imper.: Ex. 24, 14. Isa. 50, 8. 54, 15. Jud. 7, 3 al.; Ex. 32, 24. Ps. 34, 13 f. 1 Sa. 11, 12 (where see the writer's note).

Where clauses of this nature have to be negatived, לֹא not אַל is almost invariably employed[1]:—Ex. 28, 43. 30, 20. Dt. 17, 17 וְלֹא יָסוּר (cf. *v.* 20 לְבִלְתִּי סוּר). 2 Sa. 21, 17. 1 Ki. 18, 44. Jer. 10, 4. 25, 6 etc. Here the connexion between the two actions is considered to be indicated with sufficient clearness by the וְ, without the need of specifying it more minutely by means of אַל. It is very unusual, however, to find the jussive or cohortative forms after לֹא (see § 50 *a*, *Obs.*).

63. The same construction is also found in relation to *past* time: 1 Ki. 13, 33 וְיִהְיוּ *that* there *might* be[2] (not וַיִּהְיוּ *and* there *were*) priests of the high places. 2 Ki. 19, 25 תִּהְיִי *that* thou *mightest* (or mayest) be. Isa. 25, 9[a] *that* he *might* save us (not future, as A.V., because (9[b]) they are represented as already saved). Ps. 49, 10 (where וְיִחְיְ is dependent upon *v.* 8, *v.* 9 being parenthetical) *so that* he should live. 81, 16 *that so* their time might be for ever. Lam. 1, 19 that they might refresh their soul (where וַיְשִׁיבוּ '*and* they refreshed' could obviously not have stood). 2 Chr. 23, 19. 24, 11?

Obs. It may be wondered how the jussive can find place where, as in these cases, the allusion is to the *past*. No doubt, as often happens in language, the literal meaning of the formula in course of time was obscured and forgotten; and it was thought of solely with reference to its derived function of expressing succinctly a purpose or intention, quite irrespectively of time.

64. After a negative[3]:—Nu. 23, 19 God is not a man

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[1] אל is in fact not used with a verb unless an imperative or jussive force is distinctly felt. Its use is therefore far more restricted than that of the Greek *μή*, with which it is often compared. Thus in final sentences (as after למען or אשר Gen. 11, 7) לא not אל is always found: and before infinitives לבלתי (=τοῦ *μή* . . .). Similarly in the case before us אַל is quite exceptional, being only found where it is desired to place the second clause upon an independent footing, and to make it co-ordinate with the first: Ps. 69, 15. 85, 9. 2 Chr. 35, 21.

[2] The singular as 5, 6. 29. 8, 26 Kt. 10, 12. 26. 11, 3. 22, 13[b] Kt.

[3] In the instances quoted, the subordinate clause is dependent upon the principal verb *without the negative*. Comp. in Arabic the similar use of لَـ, with however not the jussive, but the *subjunctive*: *e. g.* Qor'an

וְיַכַּזֵּב *so that* he might lie (or, *that* he should lie): the force of the expression is well illustrated by a parallel passage 1 Sa. 15, 29 לְהִנָּחֵם *for repenting* (or, *so as* to repent: LXX Num. infin. alone, 1 Sa. infin. with τοῦ). Ps. 51, 18[1] thou desirest not sacrifice וְאֶתְּנָה *so that* I should give it. 55, 13[1] it was not an enemy who reproached me וְאֶשָּׂא *so that* I might bear it: similarly וְאֶפְתֵּר. Isa. 53, 2[b] and he had no beauty *that* we should desire him. Jer. 5, 28[2].

Or an interrogative:—Isa. 40, 25 to whom will ye compare me וְאֶשְׁוֶה *that* I may be like him? 41, 26 וְנֵדָעָה. 28 *that* I might ask them וְיָשִׁיבוּ and that they might return answer. 46, 5[b]. Lam. 2, 13. Jer. 23, 18[a] who hath stood in the council of Yahweh *so as* to see? etc. (different from 18[b], which resembles rather Job 9, 4; § 19, p. 25). Job 41, 3.

Obs. Occasionally the וְ is dispensed with: Ex. 28, 32. 39, 23 (the same, narrated when done: 'that it *might* not be torn'). Isa. 41, 2 יַרְדְּ =*to subdue*. 50, 2. Ez. 16, 15 לו יהי *that* it (sc. יפיך) *might* be his[3]. Ps. 61, 8 מַן ינצרהו. Job 9, 33. Neh. 13, 19[b]. And after a negative Ps. 140, 9 promote not his device ירומו *so that* they be exalted[4]. Add also

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7, 17 and do not come nigh to this tree *so as to* become evil-doers (in Engl. we should rather change the form, and say *lest* ye become evil-doers). 71 do not touch her *so that* (*lest*) punishment seize you. See also 6, 108. 154. 8, 48. 10, 95. 11, 115. 12, 5 etc. And after an interrogative, 6, 149. 7, 51 have we any intercessors *that* they *should* intercede for us?

[1] The rendering '*else* would I give it,' '*then* I could have borne it,' implies merely a different expression in English of the demonstrative וְ (comp. §§ 62, 122 *Obs.*), which, whether represented by *so that*, or by *so, then, in that case*, equally limits the giving, or the bearing, to a case conceived (in virtue of the preceding negative) to be non-occurrent.

[2] Which differs from 20, 17. Gen. 31, 27, in that the second event is regarded as *resulting from* the first, while in these it is viewed simply as *succeeding* it; cf. § 74 *a*.

[3] לו is here slightly emphatic; but its position is due rather to the desire for rhythmical distinctness; comp. לְוֹ לאשה Gen. 16, 3 (after לאברם). 29, 28 (after a previous לו), *v.* 29; also Lev. 7, 7. יהי לו or ויהי לו would be extremely weak as an ending.

[4] The harshness of the construction in *v.* 10[a] makes it almost certain,

the passages in which the cohortative appears after מִי יִתֵּן *O that* . . . : Isa. 27, 4. Ps. 55, 7 O that I had the wings of a dove, אעופה ואשכנה *that I might* fly away and be at rest. Job 23, 3–5. Compare Jud. 9, 29. Jer. 9, 1, where the cohortative is preceded by וְ; Job 6, 8 f. (jussive).

65. Sometimes the *imperative* is found instead of the jussive, to express with rather greater energy the intention signified by the preceding verb[1].

Gen. 12, 2 and I will make thee into a great nation . . . וֶהְיֵה *and be* (that thou mayest be) a blessing. 20, 7. Ex. 3, 10. 2 Sa. 21, 3 and wherewith shall I make expiation, וּבָרֲכוּ *and bless* (that ye may bless) etc. 1 Ki. 1, 12 וּמַלְּטִי. 2 Ki. 5, 10. Ruth 1, 9. 4, 11b. Amos 5, 4. Ps. 37, 27. 128, 5 may Yahweh bless thee, וּרְאֵה *and see* (that thou mayest see) the prosperity of Jerusalem!

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however, that the text is here corrupt; and that ירומו (which is in fact redundant in *v.* 9) belongs in reality, in the form ירימו, to *v.* 10; cf. Perowne, Delitzsch, Cheyne (p. 404).

[1] Compare Ewald, § 347a.

CHAPTER VI.

The Imperfect with Waw Consecutive.

66. By far the most usual method in which a series of events is narrated in Hebrew consists in connecting each fresh verb with the clause which precedes it by means of *waw consecutive*, or, as it was formerly called, *waw conversivum* (וְ) and the imperfect. This waw consecutive, in both meaning and use, is radically different from the simple waw with *shwa'* (וְ), which is likewise prefixed to the imperfect: but it can always be at once recognized and distinguished from the latter by its peculiar form: before י, נ, and ת the waw consecutive *uniformly* has pathach, with dagesh in the letter following — the dagesh being, however, regularly dropped, from the difficulty of then pronouncing the double letter, before י when accompanied by *shwa'* (וַיְהִי not וְיִהְיִ): before א of the first person it has, with all but equal invariability, the compensatory long vowel *qameṣ*[1] (וָאֹבֵא)[2].

67. This somewhat singular construction was formerly supposed to be peculiar to the Hebrew of the Old Testa-

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[1] Comp. with the article הָאָדָם, הַיְלָדִים etc.

[2] The only exceptions are a few occasions in Pi'el, where pathach appears: Jud. 6, 9 וַאֲנַרֵּשׁ. 20, 6. 2 Sa. 1, 10. Ez. 16, 10; cf. also Zech. 8, 10. Ps. 73, 16. 119, 163. Job 30, 26: and, according to some, Ps. 26, 6. In Isa. 43, 28 it can hardly be doubted that the punctuators (like the Targum) understood the verbs (incorrectly) of the future, and pointed accordingly: the LXX and the Syriac render by the past, as is done also by most modern commentators (vocalizing, of course, וָאַחַלֵּל and וָאֶתְּנָה: comp. 42, 25. 47, 6).

ment[1]. It is, however, known now to have been in familiar use in Moab[2], so that it was probably common to both Hebrew and the kindred Semitic dialects spoken by the immediate neighbours of the ancient Israelites[3]. Other Semitic languages (Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, etc.), in cases where Hebrew uses regularly the impf. with וְ, employ what might seem to be the obvious and natural construction of the perfect and וְ: but this is avoided, almost uniformly, by the purest Hebrew; and it is not till the later period of the language, and even then but partially, that it is able to gain an acknowledged footing (see Chap. IX). The principle upon which the imperfect is here employed will not, after what was said in §§ 21, 26, be far to seek. The imperfect represents action as *nascent:* accordingly, when combined with a conjunction connecting the event introduced by it with a point already reached by the narrative, it represents it as the *continuation* or *development* of the past which came before it[4].

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[1] Though a few instances occur apparently in the Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch; see Uhlemann, *Inst. Linguae Sam.* § 64. 1 *Anm.* In Hebrew of a later date, it is found only in books written in intentional imitation of the Biblical style, for instance, in the Hebrew version of the Book of Tobit, or in Josephus Gorionides. But it is not the idiom of the Mishnah, or of the Rabbinical Commentators.

[2] On the Inscription of Mesha' (the 'Moabite Stone') we find not only וישב, ואהרג etc., but even the same apocopated forms as in Hebrew, וארא, ואבן, ואעש. The language of this inscription does not in fact differ from Hebrew except dialectically, the resemblances in idiom and general style being especially striking. See a transcription of the inscription (in square characters) with grammatical explanations, in the writer's *Notes on Samuel,* p. lxxxv ff. (The impf. with וַ occurs also, as might naturally be expected, on the ancient Hebrew Inscription found on the wall of the Pool of Siloam, *ib.* p. xv.)

[3] It is not, however, found in Phoenician (which has many points of contact with Hebrew, though not so numerous as Moabitish). See Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache* (1869), and especially, on the relation of Phoenician to Hebrew, B. Stade in *Morgenländische Forschungen* (1875), pp. 169–232.

[4] As the date of the new event expressed by the impf. is determined by

וַיֹּאמֶר is thus properly not *and he said*, but *and he proceeded-to-say*. The pathach of the *waw* is probably to be explained as the fuller, more original form of the conjunction (in Arab. *wă*), which, for the sake of distinction, was preserved in this case, and prevented from being weakened to וְ, by the dagesh in the following letter[1].

Obs. 1. The title *waw conversive* is a translation of the name וָו הַהִפּוּךְ, which originated with the old Jewish grammarians, who conceived the waw under these circumstances to possess the power of changing the signification of the tense, and turning a future into a past, just as in a parallel case (to be examined hereafter), they imagined it capable of turning a past into a future[2]. Now that the theory of the Hebrew tenses has been entirely remodelled, and it is seen that they involve no intrinsic relation to actions as past or future, but only as completed or incomplete, irrespectively of date, the old term has been very generally discarded as unsuitable. The title *waw consecutive*, adopted by Ewald and most modern grammarians, was originally suggested by Böttcher in 1827. Hitzig used always the term *vav relativum*, the meaning of which will be apparent from what has been stated above.

Obs. 2. The explanation here given of the nature of this construction (which is, in effect, merely Ewald's thrown with a little expansion into

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the conjunction connecting it with a particular point in the past, to which therefore it is *relative*, the construction is termed by Ewald the *relatively-progressive* imperfect (das *bezüglich-fortschreitende* imperfectum).

[1] Comp. Olshausen, § 229[b]; and for the preservation of a vowel by the duplication of the following consonant, cf. בַּמָּה, בַּמָּה, לָמָּה (*ib.* § 83[d]). Ewald (§ 231[a]) thought that the pathach and the dagesh were the only surviving traces of some adverbial root concealed between the conjunction and the verb: but this is hardly probable.

[2] Compare Reuchlin, *Rudimenta Hebraica* (Phorcae [Pforzheim] 1506), p. 619, 'Quamquam ne hoc quidem omiserim quod mihi de vau praepositiva particula humanissimus praeceptor meus ille Iacobus iehiel Loans doctor excellens (misericordia dei veniat super eum) apud Cecios discenti monstravit, Cum enim vau per seva notatum praeponitur verbo praeteriti temporis quod transfert accentum suum in ultimam, tunc idem verbum mutatur in tempus futurum .... Similiter cum praeponitur vau cum patha verbo futuri temporis, tunc futurum convertit in praeteritum.' Cf. L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin*, pp. 105 ff.

an English dress) was written before I had seen the following passage of Schröder's *Institutiones ad fundamenta linguae Hebraeae* (Ulmae 1785), pp. 261 f., in which, in all essential points, the same view is not only anticipated, but stated also with singular lucidity:—'Praeter varios hosce usus, Futurum habet adhuc alium plane singularem, et Hebraeis peculiarem, quod illud vim accipit nostri Praeteriti, et rem revera praeteritam designat, non tamen per se, et absolute, sed in relatione ad praecedens aliquod Praeteritum, spectatam. Quando enim diversae res factae, quae continua quadam serie aliae alias exceperunt, narrandae sunt, Hebraei primam quidem per Praeteritum, alias autem subsequentes, quas, ratione praecedentis, tamquam futuras considerant, per Futurum exprimunt. Hoc itaque, quia id, quod in relatione ad aliam rem praeteritam posterius et futurum fuit, notat, *Futurum relativum* dici potest.'

68. It is evident that this use of the imperfect is closely parallel to some of the constructions noticed in § 27. In instances such as אָז יָשִׁיר, וְהָאֲנָשִׁים יִנָּחֲשׁוּ, וְאֶבְשָׁלֹם בָּא, the imperfect depicts action as incipient, in strict accordance with what appears to have been the primitive signification of the tense: it is just in virtue of this, its original meaning, that, in coalition with וְ, it grew up into a fixed formula, capable of being generally employed in historical narrative. That a series of past facts should ever have been regularly viewed in this light (a supposition without which the construction before us remains unaccountable), that in each term of such a series the salient feature seized upon by language should be not its character as past, but its character as nascent or progressive, may indeed appear singular: but the ultimate explanation of it must lie in the mode of thought peculiar to the people, and here reflected in their language. Only, inasmuch as the formula became one of the commonest and most constant occurrence, it is probable that a distinct recollection of the exact sense of its component parts was lost, or, at any rate, receded greatly into the background, and that the construction was used as a whole, without any thought of its original meaning, simply as a form to connect together a series of past events into a consecutive narrative.

69. The form which the imperfect takes after the וַ· is, however, very generally modified. It frequently, at any rate externally, resembles the voluntative—in the second and third person appearing as a *jussive*, in the first person as a *cohortative*. Without going here with any minuteness into the details (which must be sought in the larger grammars, which treat the accidence at length), we meet, for example, regularly with such forms as these, וַיְצַו, וַיַּ֫עַשׂ[1], וַיֵּבְךְּ, וַיָּבֵא, וַיַּבְדֵּל, וָאֲדַבְּרָה etc. A second noticeable characteristic is this, that after waw consecutive *the tone frequently*, though not universally[2], *recedes*. Accordingly we obtain וַיֵּ֫אָסֶף, וַיְגָ֫רֶשׁ, וַתִּתְפָּ֫עֶם Dan. 2, 1, וַתֵּ֫לֶךְ, וַיּ֫וֹלֶךְ, וַיָּ֫שָׁב, וַיָּ֫שֶׁת etc.

Obs. The cohortative form is so much less common than the jussive, that a few particulars respecting its usage (derived chiefly from Böttcher, ii. 199, and the list given by Stickel, *Das Buch Hiob*, pp. 151–4) will not be out of place. It occurs only at rare intervals except in two or three of the later writers, some ninety instances of its use being cited altogether. Thus, in the historical books (to 2 Sa.), it occurs Gen. 32, 6. 41, 11. 43, 21. Nu. 8, 19. Josh. 24, 8 Kt. Jud. 6, 9. 10. 10, 12. 12, 3. 1 Sa. 2, 28. 28, 15. 2 Sa. 4, 10. 7, 9. 12, 8. 22, 24: but never in the books of Kings, or in Isaiah (in Deutero-Isaiah, 43, 28: cf. § 66 *note*); and in the other prophets, only Jer. 11, 18. 32, 9. Ez. 9, 8. 16, 11. Zech. 11, 13. In the Psalms, 3, 6. 7, 5. (not 18, 24). 69, 12. 73, 16. 90, 10; and several times in Ps. 119. In Job, 1, 15 ff. 19, 20. 29, 17. 30, 26. It is principally found in those portions of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, where the narrative is told in the first person. In Ezra 7, 27–9, 6 there are seven-

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[1] In so far as verbs ל״ה are concerned, Böttcher, ii. 196 f., collects of the first pers. sing. forty-nine instances of the shortened form, against fifty-three in which it remains unabbreviated. In the other persons, however, the full form is very exceptional; e.g. ויהיה never, ויראה four times (against some 130 instances of וירא).

[2] The conditions under which the retrocession may take place are (1) the syllable of the ultima, which is to become toneless, must be one originally *short;* (2) the syllable which is to receive the tone, must be an *open* one, with a *long* vowel. It does not, however, always take place, even when these conditions are present; and never in the 1st pers. sing. (in 1 Ki. 21, 6. Ez. 16, 6 the retrocession is occasioned by position): in pause, also, the tone reappears on the ultima, as וַיֵּלַךְ׃. Comp. Olsh., § 229[b].

teen instances of the first pers. with *-ah*, against only two without it (there is a third case, however, in 10, 2): it is here that its predominance is most marked. In Dan. 8–12 there occur ten cases with *-ah*, against eight without it (verbs ל"ה of course not reckoned): and in Neh. 1. 2. 4–7. 12, 31. 13 the numbers are about thirty-two to thirty-seven. But it is not used by the writer of the Chronicles: a comparison of 1 Chr. 17, 8 with 2 Sa. 7, 9 would seem to shew that he even intentionally rejected it: nor is it found in Zech. 1–8 although ואמר occurs fifteen times and ואשוב twice. In Esther, neither form is met with at all.

70. We have here to ask two questions: firstly, what is the meaning of the apparently modal forms? secondly, what is the cause of the retrogression of the tone?

It is maintained by Ewald, § 231[a], that the imperfect after וַ possesses really a modal force: and he remarks in a note that such an assumption is especially necessary on account of the ה֫ in the first person, which cannot otherwise be explained. Certainly the coincidence is a remarkable one, and constitutes a *prima facie* argument in favour of this view, which it is unquestionably difficult to meet. The same distinction of usage between the first person on the one hand, and the second and third on the other, is observable here, precisely as when the usual voluntative force is indisputably present: the former appears as a cohortative, the two latter as jussives. But the impossibility of giving a satisfactory or even an intelligible account of the presence of a *real* cohortative or jussive in forms descriptive of simple historical fact, constrains us to seek for some better explanation. Let us begin by considering the case of the second and third persons. It is, in the first place, obviously impracticable to do anything with the jussive, taken in its literal sense: a command, a permission, or a wish are all equally out of place in a form descriptive of the simple straightforward past. Ewald (§ 231[a]) seeks to overcome this difficulty by weakening and generalizing the force of the jussive mood in a manner which it is impossible to regard as legitimate. Another objection against supposing the form to be that of a real jussive

is the fact that the alterations arising from abbreviation or apocopation *extend over a much wider area* than in the case of the actually existent jussive. Thus the jussive proper in the first person is extremely rare: but not only do we meet with וָאָשֵׁב, וָאוֹלֵךְ etc., but some fifty instances are cited of verbs ל״ה, which appear thus in the shortened form, some of them, as וָאֵרֶא, וָאֱהִי, being of repeated occurrence. On the other hand, there are phenomena which appear to reveal the direction in which the true explanation must be sought. The question was asked just now, What is the cause of the retrocession of tone observable e. g. in וַיֵּאָסֶף? It cannot be accounted for by the supposition that the verb after וַ׳ is a jussive, because יֵאָסֶף, יְשָׁרֶת etc. are unheard of as independent jussive forms: where they do appear, their occurrence is in no way connected with the modal form as such, but is an accidental consequence of *position* (e. g. Ps. 102, 19 תִּכָּתֶב־זֹאת, 104, 20 תָּשֶׁת־חֹשֶׁךְ). In verbs ל״ה, as יֵגֶל, the vowel in the ultima (as in the segolate nouns) is an auxiliary vowel; and the place of the tone is thus a secondary phenomenon: here, therefore, the apparent retrocession is due to the weak letter which constitutes the third radical of the verb. In no case is the jussive mood by itself sufficient to produce retrocession; nor, in fact, does it shew the smallest tendency to produce it. Even supposing, therefore, that the verb after וַ׳ were jussive, this would fail to account for the retrocession of the tone. It can hardly be doubted that the true cause lies in the *heavy prefix* וַ׳, which was once probably, as the dagesh seems to shew, even heavier than it is now. The effect of this being added to the impf. would be to create a tendency to *lighten* the latter part of the word, which would operate sometimes by simply causing the tone to recede, sometimes by giving rise to an accompanying apocopation. It must be remembered that we have not much opportunity of watching in Hebrew the changes produced by an alteration at the *beginning* of a word: most of the variations in

the vowels or the tone are the results of alterations at the *end* of a word, or of some modification in its relation to what follows it in the sentence rather than to what precedes. Thus the *st. constr.*, the addition of a suffix, the presence of a heavy termination (קְטַלְתֶּם, in contradistinction to a light one קָטַלְתְּ), the proximity of a tone-syllable, all operate from below: examples of an influence working in the opposite direction are more difficult to find. Nevertheless, we are not left entirely destitute of indications as to the effect which a heavy prefix, in constant coalition with a flexible verb-form, might be expected to produce. Instances occur in which אַל[1], when closely united to a jussive by *maqqeph*, gives rise to an alteration in the form of the verb similar to that observable after waw consecutive: thus Ex. 23, 1 אַל־תָּ֫שֶׁת. 2 Sa. 17, 16 אַל־תָּ֫לֶן: see further Dt. 2, 9. 3, 26. 1 Sa. 9, 20. 1 Ki. 2, 20. Pr. 30, 6, cf. Ex. 10, 28. Compare also אַל־ תֵּ֫שֶׁת, exactly like וַתֵּ֫שֶׁת, whereas without אל the full form ישתה is used with a jussive force Job 21, 20. And probably Ps. 21, 2 Qri מַה־יָּ֫גֶל and the *ṣere* in שְׁיוּלֵךְ Qoh. 5, 14[2] are to be explained in the same way[3]. The case then, as a whole, may be stated thus. On the one hand, the forms under discussion cannot be explained as jussives (for the jussive as such never assumes them), nor can they be explained as arising from position (for they are found where no tone-syllable follows): they can only be explained as arising from the influence of the וְ (for the presence of this is the one property they possess in common), and this opinion is confirmed by the parallel instances which have been just quoted[4].

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[1] See Ewald, § 224[b]; Böttcher, i. 166. ii. 172; Olshausen, § 229[c].

[2] Compare the shorter form after או 1 Ki. 8, 1 או יקהל.

[3] In the Psalm, however, the retrocession might be caused by the following tone-syllable מאד (the *shwa'* not reckoning, precisely as Gen. 1, 11; see Gesenius, Lg. § 51. 1[d] Anm. 1, or Ewald, § 100[a]).

[4] Ewald himself accounts in the same way for an analogous phenomenon in Arabic (*Gramm. Arab.* i. p. 124). *Lam*, 'not,' always takes

Obs. There is one remaining ground upon which it might be thought possible still to defend the assumption of a jussive. Granted the power of the וַ־ to alter the place of the tone, it will be urged that such forms as וַיָּשֻׁב, וַיָּשֶׂם would be most naturally treated as derived immediately from the *jussives* יָשֻׁב, יָשֵׂם, rather than from the simple imperfects יָשׁוּב, יָשִׂים. This certainly sounds plausible: but it must be remembered that no basis exists for the assumption that יָשֵׂם in וַיָּשֵׂם must necessarily and exclusively be *jussive:* the וַ־, which is able to produce וַיִּשְׁבֶּה, וַיִּשָּׂא etc., is a sufficient cause to account for the presence of *ṣere* in וַיֵּשֶׁת; and when it had gone thus far, when it had produced וַיָּשֵׂם[1] out of וַיָּשִׂים, the tendency visible elsewhere could not have failed to operate here likewise, so as from וַיָּשֵׂם to give rise to וַיָּשֶׂם[2]. Such instances only require us to suppose *two* stages in the action of the וַ־: the possibility of the first stage is established by the effects observable in other cases, and when once this is admitted, the second will follow as a matter of course.

71. The form before us, then, is only apparently, not really, jussive: it exhibits, in fact, one of those *accidental coincidences* not unknown to language. Why the shortened form was selected for the jussive may be uncertain, though we know the fact that it was so selected: we seem, at least partially, to detect some reasons why it appears after וַ־, but there is no indication that the identity of form in the two

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an impf. after it, just as מרם generally does in Hebrew: but the impf. is universally in the *jussive* mood. Thus the unmodified impf. of *nazzala*, 'to bring down,' is *yunazzilu* (he *will, used* etc. to bring down), whereas the jussive is *yunazzil;* and so we find Qor. 3, 144 *lam yunazzil* in the sense of 'he has not brought down,' 185 *lam yaf'alû* (not *yaf'alûna*) 'they have not done.' The conjunction is always closely followed by the verb, no intervening words being permitted: accordingly Ewald writes, 'Quare ob nexum hunc praepositi لَمْ viquc certâ pronunciandi necessarium et perpetuum forma verbi in fine *brevius* pronunciatur.' And if a double origin for the shortened form is postulated for Arabic ('ex duplici quae formam decurtatam postulet causa,' ibid.), it may be conceded, without any greater hesitation, for Hebrew.

[1] Through an intermediate *yāshîth*, Ewald, §§ 33[b], 224[a]; Olshausen, §§ 57[b], 228[a].

[2] This indeed is the form which almost everywhere occurs: see, however, Gen. 47, 11, and Böttcher, § 497. 9.

cases, such as it is (for we have seen that it is not perfect throughout), originated in an intentional adoption of the jussive as such.

72. The explanation of the ־ָה in the first person is more difficult. It should, however, be borne in mind that even in the cohortative proper, the *-ah* does not *add* to the simple imperfect the 'intentional' signification expressed by that mood: the signification is already there, and the new termination merely renders it more prominent. This seems clear from the fact that the imperfect may—and in verbs ל״ה, if such an idea is to be expressed at all, *must*[1]—in its unmodified form signify an intention or desire. The termination, therefore, is not specially cohortative or intentional, it is merely *intensive:* and we are at least relieved of the logical contradiction involved in the supposition that a real cohortative form was used in the *mere* description of a past fact. The time and mode of occurrence are here, of course, limited by the prefixed וְ; and if (as appears probable) the *-ah* was felt to indicate the direction in which the will exerted itself, or to add emphasis to the idea of movement conveyed by the tense, its use with the first person would be nothing surprising or inappropriate.

Obs. Compare Stickel, *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 151, who supposes that in the cohortative the influence of the *-ah* is exerted in giving prominence to the feelings *internally* actuating the speaker, while with the first person after וְ it lays stress upon the results *externally* produced. He is thus often able to imitate the effect of it in German by the use of *hin*, as ונחלמה 'und wir träumten *hin:*' so in English שכבתי ואישנה might be very fairly represented by 'I lay down, and slept *away*,'—*hin* is, however, capable of a wider application than our *away*. Delitzsch (on Ps. 3, 6 and Gen. 32, 6) speaks of the *-ah* as a termination *welches . . . die Lebendigkeit des Verbalbegriffs steigert.*

Another suggestion is due to Prof. Aug. Müller (in the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 206). The form of the impf. after ·וְ became, through the influence of this prefix (as explained, § 70), identical externally with

[1] With the rare exceptions noted, p. 52, *note* 3.

that of the jussive: and hence, in process of time, the difference in origin of the two was forgotten. But, as the other parts of both moods fell into disuse, the cohortative came to be practically regarded as the first person of the jussive, and consequently was used in cases analogous to those in which the form outwardly identical with the jussive made its appearance, i. e. after waw consecutive. In other words, וישב *resembled* the real jussive ישב: and then, through the influence of a false analogy, ואשובה came gradually into use by the side of it.

73. We may now proceed to examine the manner in which this construction is employed: and, in the first place, let us enquire more closely into the nature of the relation in which an action thus introduced may stand towards the preceding portion of the narrative. The most obvious and frequent relation is naturally that of simple chronological succession, Gen. 4, 8 and Cain rose up וַיַּהַרְגֵהוּ *and slew* him: but of this there is no need to give further examples, as they abound throughout the historical portions of the Old Testament.

74. At times, however, when of the two ideas thus connected, one is really a *consequence* of the other, it is convenient and desirable to make this fact more explicit in English by translating *and so:* similarly, where the two ideas are in reality *contrasted* we may with advantage make the contrast more perspicuous by rendering *and yet.*

Thus (*a*) Gen. 20, 12 *and so* she became my wife. 23, 20 וַיָּקָם *and so* the field was ensured to Abraham. Ps. 92, 11. Jer. 20, 17 because thou didst not kill me from the womb *so*[1] *that* my mother might have become my tomb (the two verbs are strictly co-ordinated under אשר, but the relation between them in English can hardly be exhibited except as above). Gen. 12, 19 ואקח. 31, 27 why didst thou not tell me וְאֲשַׁלְּחֲךָ *and so*[2] I could have sent thee away (='that so I

[1] וַתְּהִי is, however, not the same as וּתְהִי: could we use the *same* person in translating, we should escape all danger of confusing them: '*because thou didst* not kill me *and let* my mother become my tomb.'

[2] Above, 'so' pointed to the actual consequences of a real occurrence,

might have sent thee away,' or more freely, but avoiding the change of mood, 'and so allow me to send thee away') with mirth? Isa. 36, 9 *and so* or *so then* thou trustest.

(β) Gen. 32, 31 I have seen God face to face, וַתִּנָּצֵל *and yet* my soul is delivered. Dt. 4, 33 did ever people hear the voice of God . . . וַיֶּחִי׃ *and* live (=*and yet* live)? 5, 23. Jud. 1, 35 וַתִּכְבַּד. 2 Sa. 19, 29 ותשת *and yet* thou didst set, etc. Mal. 1, 2b. Ps. 73, 14. For some additional instances, see § 79.

Sometimes the consequence is also the climax; in other words a sentence summarizing the result of the events just before described is introduced by וְ: the apparent tautology may then be avoided in English by rendering *so* or *thus*, as is often done in our Version, Ex. 14, 30. Jud. 4, 23. 9, 56. 20, 46. 1 Sa. 17, 50. 31, 6.

75. But chronological sequence, though the most usual, is not the sole principle by which the use of וְ is regulated. Where, for example, a transaction consists of two parts closely connected, a Hebrew narrator will often state the principal fact first, appending the concomitant occurrence by help of וְ; or again, in describing a series of transactions, he will hasten at once to state briefly the issue of the whole, and afterwards, as though forgetting that he had anticipated, proceed to annex the particulars by the same means: in neither of these cases is it implied that the event introduced by וְ is subsequent to that denoted by the previous verb; in reality the two וְ are *parallel*, the longer and the shorter account alike being attached by וְ to the narrative preceding them both. Instances: (α) Ex. 2, 10 she called his name Moses; *and she said*[1]. Jud. 16, 23. 1 Sa. 7, 12. 18, 11. 25, 5. 2 Ki. 1, 2; (β) Gen. 27, 24[2] ויאמר (not subsequent to

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here it points to the imaginary consequences of a hypothetical occurrence (*killing, telling*).

[1] Elsewhere we find כי as Gen. 4, 25. 16, 13. Ex. 2, 22 etc., or לאמר as 1 Sa. 4, 21; or ותאמר precedes ותקרא as Gen. 29, 33 etc.

[2] For some of these references, compare Hitzig, *Jeremia*, p. 288,

ויברכם, *v.* 23: the words of the blessing do not, as might have been expected, follow immediately, but only after the particulars accompanying it have been described, *vv.* 24–27[a])[1]. 37, 6 (describing how Joseph told his dream; 5[b] is *anticipatory*). 42, 21 ff. (the details of the compendious ויעשו כן, *v.* 20). 45, 21–24. 48, 17 (notice ישית, § 39 β). Ex. 40, 18 (see 17[b]). Josh. 18, 8 (ויצו after וילכו). Jud. 5, 1 (see 4, 24). 6, 27. 1 Sa. 10, 9[b]–11.

76. In the instances just mentioned, the disregard of chronological sequence is only apparent: but others occur in which no temporal relation is implied at all, and association in *thought* is the principle guiding the writer rather than association in *time*. Thus וְ may be used to introduce a statement immediately suggested by a preceding word or phrase; it is even, occasionally, joined to a *substantive standing alone*, in order to expand its meaning or to express some circumstance or attribute attaching to it. Or, secondly, a fresh circumstance is mentioned, in the order in which it naturally presents itself for mention at the stage which the narrative has reached; or a new account commences, amplifying the preceding narrative regarded as a *whole*, and not meant merely to be the continuation, chronologically, of its concluding stage: in both these cases, also, וְ is employed.

Examples: (*a*) Gen. 36, 14 וְתִלַּד. 32 (epexegetical of 31[a]). 45, 7 וישלחני (connected in thought only with *v.* 6). 46, 18. 25. Nu. 4, 40. 44. 10, 28 ויסעו. 20, 15 (expansion of the תלאה *v.* 14). 33, 3. Josh. 22, 17 is the iniquity of Peor too little for us . . . ויהי *when* there was (lit. '*and* there was') the plague in

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Böttcher, ii. p. 214, and especially Ewald, *Komposition der Genesis* (1823), pp. 151–156. On such occasions (in Ewald's words) the narrator 'überspringt Mittelglieder um das Ziel zu erreichen:' he is then compelled 'durch Nebenumstände zu erläutern und zu ergänzen, was sein Eile eben übersprungen hatte.'

[1] Some scholars, however, suppose here *v.* 28 to connect immediately with *v.* 23, *vv.* 24–27 being derived by the compiler from a different source. A similar supposition is made in ch. 48, for *vv.* 15–16.

the congregation? Jud. 11, 1b; 1 Sa. 15, 17 yet art thou head etc., *and* Yahweh *hath anointed* thee etc. 2 Sa. 14, 5 וימת אישי. 1 Ki. 11, 15 (developes a particular episode in Hadad's life, in continuation of 14b: cf. 1 Sa. 25, 2b). Isa. 49, 7 for the sake of Yahweh who is faithful, (and) the Holy One of Israel *who* hath chosen thee (lit. '*and* he hath chosen thee,'—a fresh idea loosely appended by the help of וְ). Job 10, 22b. It is also sometimes used in order to explain and define עשה, as Gen. 31, 26. 1 Sa. 8, 8. 1 Ki. 2, 5. 18, 13 (וַאֲחַבֵּא = *how* I hid): cf. Neh. 13, 17.

(β) Gen. 2, 25. 5, 5 ויהיו. 41, 56 ויחזק (synchronizing with וישבר). Ruth 2, 23. Nu. 10, 35. 15, 32. 1 Sa. 14, 25b. 49. 1 Ki. 5, 2. 12. 26b. 2 Ki. 17, 7 ff.; Ex. 4, 31[1]. Isa. 39, 1 he sent messengers וַיִּשְׁמַע *and* he heard[2] (parallel, 2 Ki. 20, 12 כי שמע). 64, 4 ונחטא (this is, however, uncertain: comp. Del. and Dillm.); Pr. 12, 13b. Job 14, 10b (new statements parallel to those in the first clauses).

(γ) Jud. 17, 1. 1 Sa. 9, 1. 18, 6. 1 Ki. 7, 13 (the entire buildings having been described, the part taken in their erection by Hiram is mentioned separately[3]). 2 Ki. 18, 1 (comp. the date in 17, 6); cf. Ex. 12, 1.

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[1] Where LXX, however, read וישמחו.

[2] This instance is such an extreme one that Delitzsch and others are doubtless right in supposing the reading וישמע to have arisen out of that in Kings by the corruption of כ into ו. LXX has γάρ, the Peshiṭto ܡܛܠ. We find the two letters confused elsewhere: 1 Sa. 2, 21 (where in the *Speaker's Commentary*, 'that' must be a slip of the pen for 'when:' the *that* which follows ויהי would, of course, be represented by ו, § 78, and, moreover, requires always some intervening clause) כי פקד yields no sense, and we must from LXX restore ויפקד; similarly Jer. 37, 16. Compare also, in the Heb. text itself, וכסאו 1 Chr. 17, 14 for כסאך 2 Sa. 7, 17; and in LXX ו for כ 1 Sa. 2, 33. 4, 7. 24, 20. 2 Sa. 3, 21. 5, 6 (apparently הסירו). 7, 16. 14, 10. 19, 7 (LXX 6), and כ for ו 1 Sa. 1, 23 (so too Pesh., and, probably, rightly). 2 Sa. 20, 1.

[3] LXX, it may be noticed, place the section 7, 13–51 more naturally after 6, 36: but even in that case, the force of the וַ remains the same.

Obs. It is a moot and delicate question how far the imperfect with ·וַ denotes a *pluperfect*. There is, of course, no doubt that it may express the *continuation* of a plupf.: e. g. Gen. 31, 34 had taken *and placed* them; but can the impf. with ·וַ *introduce* it? can it instead of conducting us as usual to a *succeeding* act, *lead us back* to one which is chronologically anterior? The impf. with ·וַ is, in the first place, certainly not the usual idiom chosen by Hebrew writers for the purpose of expressing a plupf.: their usual habit, when they wish to do this, is to *interpose* the subject between the conjunction and the verb, which then lapses into the *perfect*, a form which we know, § 16, *allows scope* for a plupf. signification, if the context requires it[1]. This will be evident from the following examples:—Gen. 24, 62 ויצחק בא and Isaac *had come:* the writer wishes to combine two streams, so to speak, in his narrative: he has (1) brought Rebekah to the termination of her journey, but (2) desires to account for Isaac's presence at the same spot. In order thus to prepare the way for their meeting, he is obliged to *go back*, and detail what had taken place *anterior* to the stage at which his narrative has arrived: he therefore *starts afresh* with the words ויצחק בא, the whole of *vv.* 62 f. bears reference to Isaac, and the two streams, terminated respectively by וילך *v.* 61 and ויבא *v.* 63, *converge* in והשא *v.* 64. So 31, 19 ולבן הלך and Laban *had gone* away (before Jacob left Paddan-arám, 18 f.: וַתִּגְנֹב, because the possibility of Rachel's stealing the Teraphim is a consequence of Laban's absence). 34. Nu. 13, 22 *had* been built. Josh. 6, 22. 18, 1 (וחִבֵּשׁ would have suggested that the subjugation was *subsequent* to the meeting at Shiloh). 1 Sa. 9, 15 (notice the *crucial* significance of יום אחד). 25, 21 (David's thoughts *before* meeting Abigail). 28, 3. 2 Sa. 18, 18. 1 Ki. 14, 5. 22, 31. 2 Ki. 7, 17. 9, 16[b] (obviously prior to Jehu's arrival): in each of these passages, by avoiding ·וַ, the writer *cuts the connexion* with the immediately preceding narrative, and so suggests a plupf.[2] Observe also how Ezekiel abandons

[1] It will be understood that the pf. in this position does not *always* bear a plupf. signification: it is often so placed simply for the purpose of giving emphasis to the subject (see further App. I).

[2] In Gen. 20, 4. 1 Sa. 14, 27 ·וַ could not have been used on account of the negative: but even here it may be noticed that the same *order* of the words is observed. Compare Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel*, p. xix, who speaks similarly of this idiom as one 'which expresses a past time, anterior to what follows, but in no connexion of time with what precedes;' the reader who refers further to p. lxxxvi (ed. 2) will find a considerable list of instances (all cases in which the verb is היה) to add to the one given in the text.

his customary formula (3, 22. 8, 1[b]. 14, 2. 20, 2) as soon as he has occasion to carry his narrative back, 33, 22, over the space of twelve hours. And in the second place, the mode of connexion which, as usage shews us, was suggested by וַ, and which is recognized by all grammarians, is with difficulty reconcilable with the idea of a pluperfect: for the consecution inherent in the one seems to be just what is excluded by the other. Under these circumstances we shall scarcely be wrong in hesitating to admit it without strong and clear exegetical necessity.

Let us examine, therefore, the passages in which the pluperfect signification of וַ has been assumed, whether by the native Jewish grammarians, or (through their influence) by the translators of the Authorized Version, or, within narrower limits, by modern scholars: many, it will be observed, break down almost immediately. Kalisch, § 95. 3, cites Gen. 2, 2. 26, 18. Ex. 11, 1. But Gen. 2, 2 is not an instance: see Delitzsch's note, and below § 149 *n.*: while in 26, 18 ויסתמום (which the note in Kalisch's *Commentary* shews to be the verb intended) is simply the continuation of the plupf. חפרו. In Ex. 11, 1 the narrative is obscure, owing to its not being so circumstantial as in the preceding chapters: but it is important to notice that, apart from the grammatical question, the interpretation is not relieved, even though ויאמר be rendered by a plupf.: if this verb be supposed to relate to any period anterior to the ninth plague—Ibn Ezra suggests 4, 23, Keil 3, 19–22—the sense of עור נגע אחר is sacrificed: if, on the other hand, it be interposed between 10, 23 and 10, 24, then, since the terms of the declaration are in no way *conditional*, it will be evidently premature. All difficulty ceases, and the tense ויאמר retains its usual force, if the interview 11, 4–8 be regarded as a different one from that of 10, 24–29[1]; nor is the language of 10, 28 f. conclusive against this view, for it would be quite in keeping with Pharaoh's character, when his passion cooled, to relent from the threat which is there expressed by him, and which is at any rate broken, subsequently (12, 31), on both sides[2]. (Dillmann,

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[1] Comp. 1 Ki. 1, 28 from which it is plain that, though the narrative does not mention it, Bathsheba must have withdrawn after the interview, *vv.* 15–22.

[2] It is indeed stated in the *Speaker's Commentary*, ad loc., that Smith, *Pentateuch*, pp. 557–560, 'completely disposes of the objections of German and English critics' to the rendering *had said;* but this is one of those adventurous statements, in which Canon Cook was too often apt to indulge. The reader who consults the volume referred to will find (p. 113) merely four of the least conclusive passages cited, viz. Jud. 1, 8. Ex. 12, 1. 18, 2. 2 Sa. 5, 8. 1 Chr. 21, 6.

however, supposes that 11, 1–3 has been accidentally misplaced, and that it stood originally after 11, 4–8.) From Hitzig we obtain Isa. 8, 3. 39, 1. Jer. 39, 11. Jon. 2, 4. But in the first of these passages the supposition is not required: the second is a more than doubtful instance to appeal to (p. 83 *n.*): the third may be explained by § 75 *β* (or 76 *γ*): and on the fourth, Dr. Pusey (*Minor Prophets*, ad loc.) corrects the A.V. thus:—'*For Thou hadst* [*didst*] *cast me into the deep.* Jonah continues to describe the extremity of peril' etc. Keil adopts the plupf. for Gen. 2, 19, comparing Jud. 2, 6. 1 Ki. 7, 13 ff. 9, 14. But Jud. 2, 6 is an uncertain passage to rely upon: the verse itself (together with *vv.* 7–9) is repeated from Josh. 24, 28–31 (where it harmonizes perfectly with the context); it is moreover the beginning of a new section (§ 76 *γ*), and was perhaps written originally without reference to the date in 1, 1[a]: cf. the *Speaker's Comm.* ii. 424 (8), the writer's *Introduction*, pp. 153, 155, and Budde, *Richter und Samuel*, 1890, p. 161. 1 Ki. 7 has been dealt with already, § 76 *γ*: 9, 14 is obscure: but the verse *seems* to be in continuation of 11[a]. Gen. 2, 19 even Delitzsch rejects, though allowing that the plupf. rendering is possible, and citing for it Isa. 37, 5. Jon. 2, 4. Isa. 37, 5, however, belongs to § 75 *β*: and in Gen. the plupf. sense is inadmissible, for the reason stated below on Jud. 1, 8.

Further: Gen. 12, 1 A.V. (see § 76 *γ*). Ex. 4, 19, where Ibn Ezra explains וכבר אמר; but the *v.*, as Keil supposes, may well refer to a distinct occasion; 27 (cf. *v.* 14: still ויאמר is not necessarily anterior to *vv.* 20–26); 18, 2 (where, however, ויקח, as Gen. 12, 5 etc., refers naturally to Jethro's action in *taking* Zipporah for the purpose mentioned *v.* 5: to *take in* in the sense of *receive, entertain* is אסף not לקח). 32, 1 (§ 76 *γ*); 32, 29 and 33, 5 A.V. (as also Ibn Ezra), but comp. Keil: Lev. 9, 22 וירד (Kimchi; also Abulwalid, *Sefer hāriqmah*, p. 22, ed. Goldberg, 1856). Jud. 1, 8 A.V. (see the note in the *Speaker's Comm.*, where the Bishop of Bath and Wells remarks with truth, that 'there is nothing in the original to suggest or justify such a change of tense' as *had fought* for וילחמו[1]). 1 Sa. 14, 24 A.V. (so Kimchi, וכבר השביע; but see Keil); 17, 13 (§ 76 *β*). 23, 6 (compared with 22, 20; the *v.*, however, though the latter part is obscurely worded and probably in some disorder (cf. p. 90, and the writer's note *ad loc.*), relates apparently to a subsequent stage in the flight of Abiathar, and is meant to describe how, when in company with David in Keilah, he had the ephod with

[1] This verse is thought by some (Budde, *Richter u. Samuel*, p. 4) to be an incorrect gloss, due to a misunderstanding of *v.* 7 (as though the pronoun 'they' denoted the Israelites rather than the people of Adonibezek), and intended to explain how the Israelites were able to take Adonibezek to Jerusalem.

him). 2 Sa. 5, 8 (=1 Chr. 21, 6: a *detail* connected with the capture of Zion described in *v.* 7, § 75 *β*). 1 Ki. 13, 12[b] וַיִּרְאוּ A.V., Kimchi, but in this passage, which is perhaps the strongest that can be urged in favour of the plupf. sense of יַ֫, it is remarkable that LXX Pesh. Vulg. agree in rendering the verb, as though it were *hifil*, And his sons *shewed* him,' etc., i.e. וַיַּרְאֻהוּ[1]. 2 Ki. 20, 8 (ויחי, *v.* 7, anticipatory, § 75 *β*). Isa. 38, 21. 22: but it is plain that these two verses are accidentally misplaced: they should (as was long ago remarked by Kimchi, in his Commentary; similarly Bp. Lowth, cited in Prof. Cheyne's note) occupy the same position as in 2 Ki. 20, 7 f., and follow *v.* 6. Isa. 64, 4 (Kimchi וכבר חטאנו: see § 76 *β*). Zech. 7, 2 A.V., Kimchi (see Wright, *The Prophecies of Zechariah*, 1879, p. 162). Job 2, 11[b] and Dan. 1, 9 A.V. (not necessary). Neh. 2, 9[b] (§ 75 *β*). In Ps. 78, 23 (Ibn Ezra, Kimchi; comp. A.V.) the narrative is doubtless not intended to be strictly chronological (cf. 105, 28 f.[2]); and it would be very artificial to render Nu. 7, 1 And it *had* come to pass etc. on account of the date being a month earlier than that of 1, 1 (see Ex. 40, 17); a distinct section here commences, and the case is rather similar to Ex. 12, 1 (§ 76 *γ*)[3].

Such are the passages from which our conclusion has to be drawn.

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[1] Klostermann, ingeniously, וַיֹּרֵ֫הוּ; but it is doubtful, in spite of Ex. 15, 25, whether הוֹרָה would be used of ordinary 'shewing.'

[2] The case must be similar, as the text stands, in Josh. 24, 12: but here the LXX read *δώδεκα*, which is accepted by many modern scholars, and is in all probability correct; the allusion being not to the well-known defeat of Sihon and Og (which, besides being out of place *after* the passage of Jordan in *v.* 11, has been noticed already in *v.* 8), but to the successes of the Israelites *west* of Jordan. See Hollenberg, *Der Charakter der Alex. Uebers. des B. Josua* (Moers, 1876), p. 16, or in *Stud. und Krit.*, 1874, p. 488; and the author's *Introduction*, p. 106 f. So also Wellh., Kuen., and Dillm. (*ad loc.*).

[3] A few additional passages, referred to chiefly by Jewish authorities, will be felt at once to be inconclusive: Gen. 2, 8 Ibn Ezra (see also his note on 1, 9). 26, 18 וישב ויחפר (Rashi: וקורם שנסע יצחק חזר וחפרן). Ex. 14, 21 (Kimchi: וכבר נבקעו המים ואחר כך שם הים לחרבה). 16, 20 (Ki.: אחר שבאש). Nu. 1, 48 A.V. 1 Sa. 17, 21 A.V. Jon. 1, 17 A.V. (see 4, 6. 7). Job 14, 10 ויחלש. Kimchi's view may be seen also in his *Michlol*, p. 50[a], ed. Fürth (1793), or p. 44[a-b], ed. Lyck (1862): ויש ו"ו שמורה הזמן שכבר עבר קורם הפעל אשר לפניו. Other instances may probably be found in A.V. In the Revised Version, all except 1 Ki. 13, 12 (the reading of the Versions being cited on the margin). Isa. 38, 21. 22. Zech. 7, 2. Neh. 2, 9 have been corrected.

In those occurring at the beginning of a narrative, or paragraph, there are, we have seen, reasons for presuming that the chronological principle is in abeyance, and that it is not the intention of the author, or compiler, to express the precise temporal relation with the occurrence last described. Some of these apparent instances have arisen, doubtless, from the manner in which the Hebrew historical books are evidently constructed, distinct sections, often written by different hands, being joined together without regard to *formal* unity. Others of the alleged instances are cases in which a circumstantial detail belonging to a preceding general statement is annexed by means of וְ: that here, however, it is not equivalent to a true pluperfect, is manifest as soon as the attempt is made to render into English accordingly; a translation such as 'And David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David. *And David had said* in that day,' etc. stands self-condemned. I find it difficult to believe that in the midst of a *continuous* piece of narrative, such as Gen. 2, 19, or even Ex. 11, 1, it is legitimate to abandon the normal and natural sense of וְ in favour of one which, at best, rests upon precarious and unsatisfactory instances, and which, *had it been designed by the author*, could have been easily and unambiguously expressed by a slight change of order. For when a Hebrew writer wishes to explain or prepare the way for what is to follow by the mention of some fact which *lies outside* the main course of his narrative, the passages quoted at the beginning of this note shew conclusively that he *purposely disconnects* it with what precedes, by the choice of a construction not suggestive of chronological sequence, which, in these two cases, would have given us respectively ויהוה אלהים יצר and ויהוה אמר. The authority of the Jewish grammarians, strange as it may seem to say so, must not be pressed; for although they have left works which mark an era in the development of Hebrew grammar, and are of inestimable value for purposes of exegesis, still their syntactical, no less than their phonetic principles, have constantly to be adopted with caution or even rejected altogether. Their grammar is not the systematization of a living tradition, it is a reconstruction as much as that of Gesenius, or Ewald, or Philippi, but often, unfortunately, without a sound basis in logic or philology. And a question such as that now before us is just one upon which their judgment would be peculiarly liable to be at fault. All that a careful scholar, like Mr. Wright (*l.c.*), can bring himself to admit, with reference to the plupf. sense of וְ, is that while 'no clear instances can be cited in which it is distinctly so used,' there are cases in which 'something like an approximation to that signification can be detected.' And it is rejected unreservedly by Böttcher, ii. p. 215 f. (see in particular, § 980. 4); by Quarry, *Genesis*, pp. 99, 418; by Dr. Pusey, who on Jonah 4, 5

writes, 'Some render, *contrary to grammar*, "And Jonah had gone," etc.,' and by Dillmann (on Ex. 4, 19 etc.).

77. So much for the logical relation subsisting between the two ideas connected by וְ: we must now consider the nature of the fresh action which is thus introduced.

Most commonly, and especially in the historical books, as in the passage Gen. 4, 8 cited above, the fresh action both developes and finishes in the past. But it may likewise so happen that the action is of such a character that while itself starting or developing in the past, its results continue into the present—terminating there or not, as the case may be: or, thirdly, the action may originate wholly in the present. Future time is *never* expressed by וְ, except where the prophetic perfect has preceded, or where the principle involved in it is really present. Nor does it express modality: Ps. 8, 6 וַתְּחַסְּרֵהוּ does not follow תפקדנו, in dependence upon כי, but introduces a fresh fact: cf. Ez. 13, 19.

78. It will hardly be necessary to cite instances in which the new action lies wholly in the past. Notice must, however, here be taken of a construction which is of constant occurrence in the historical books of the Old Testament. When the Hebrew writers have occasion in the course of their narrative to insert a clause specifying the circumstances under which an action takes place, instead of introducing it abruptly, they are in the habit of (so to speak) preparing the way for it by the use of the formula וַיְהִי *and it was* or *came to pass*. Thus in place of וּבָעֵת הַהִוא אָמַר אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, particularly in the earlier books[1], preference is generally given to the form וַיְהִי בָּעֵת הַהִוא וַיֹּאמֶר א׳ *and it came to pass*, at that time, *and* or *that* Abimelech said etc., Gen. 21, 22. And the same construction is usual with every kind of temporal or adverbial clause, whatever be the particle by which it is introduced, e. g.

[1] Contrast, for instance, Ezra 9, 1. 3. 5. 10, 1; 2 Chr. 7, 1 and often ככלות (1 Ki. 8, 54 ויהי ככלות). 12, 7. 15, 8. But Nehemiah commonly makes use of ויהי. Comp. the writer's note on 1 Sa. 17, 55.

Gen. 4, 3 מקץ ימים. 8 בהיותם בשדה. 19, 17 בהוציאם. 34 ממחרת. 20, 13 באשר. 26, 8[1]. The sentence is not, however, always resumed by וַ as in the example quoted, though this is the most frequent form: the וְ may be omitted, or be separated from the verb, and then the perfect will reappear. Thus the main sentence may be resumed (1) by the perfect alone, as Gen. 14, 1 f. 40, 1. Ex. 12, 41[b]. 51. 16, 22. 27. Dt. 1, 3. 9, 11. 1 Sa. 18, 30. Isa. 7, 1. Jer. 36, 1. 16. Ez. 1, 1 etc., or, though more rarely, by the impf.[2] if the sense be suitable, Jud. 11, 40, 1 Ki. 9, 10 f. (with אז). 14, 28. 2 Ki. 4, 8[b]. Jer. 36, 23. Or (2) by וְהִנֵּה as Gen. 15, 17. 29, 25. 42, 35 (הם מריקים). 2 Ki. 2, 11. 13, 21 al. Or (3) by וְ with the subject *before* the verb, as Gen. 7, 10. 22, 1. 41, 1. Ex. 12, 29. 34, 29. Josh. 6, 8. 1 Sa. 18, 1. 2 Sa. 13, 30 al.[3]

But (1) with וְ and (3) without וְ are alike exceedingly rare: 2 Chr. 24, 11 (where, however, וַיָּבֹא is frequentative: see Chap. VIII); 1 Sa. 23, 6 (corrupt). perhaps 1 Ki. 21, 1[4].

79. We may now pass to those cases in which the action, or its results, continues into the writer's present: here, as with the perfect in the parallel instances, it is often best to translate by a present. Thus Gen. 32, 5[b] וָאֹמַר. Ex. 4, 23 וָאֹמַר *and I say* (*have said*, in the immediate past), Let my son go, וַתְּמָאֵן *and thou refusest* (or hast refused) to let him go[5]. Num. 22, 11

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[1] Of an exceptional type are 1 Sa. 10, 11. 11, 11 ויהי הנשארים ויפוצו. 2 Sa. 2, 23 (comp. § 121 *Obs.* 1).

[2] This, if a frequentative, is more usually preceded by וְהָיָה (§ 121).

[3] It may, perhaps, be thought that in these cases the clause beginning by the perfect or וְ is rather a subordinate circumstantial clause (see Appendix I), and that the real continuation of ויהי is afforded by the וַ following. This is possible: but in some of the instances quoted this sequence does not occur, and in others the clause itself has not the appearance of being subordinate.

[4] Ez. 9, 8 the monstrous ונאשאר is doubtless (see Hitz.) a confusion of two readings, וְנִשְׁאָר (to be explained by § 159), which is accepted as the original text by Hitz. and Keil, and וָאֶשָּׁאֵר (cf. 1 Ki. 19, 10 for the position of אני), which is preferred by Ew. and Smend.

[5] With this sentence as a whole, cf. Jer. 23, 2. 34, 17.

וַיֶּכֶם. Josh. 4, 9 ויהיו שם and *they are* there unto this day. 1 Ki. 8, 8b. 19, 10 *and* I alone *am left, and they seek* (have sought and continue seeking) my life to take it away. Isa. 3, 16. 30, 12. 41, 5 קרבו ויאתיון. 50, 7 ואדע. 59, 15 *is* or *has become* missing. Hos. 8, 10. 13. Hab. 1, 3 ויהי. 14. 3, 19. Ps. 35, 21. 38, 13 (*have laid* and continue to lay *snares*). 52, 9. 55, 6. 119, 90 *and it abideth.* Job 11, 3 f. 7, 15 *and* (so) my soul *preferreth* suffocation. 14, 17. 30, 11 f. Gen. 19, 9 this one entered to sojourn (here), וַיִּשְׁפֹּט שָׁפוֹט *and goes on to* play the judge amidst us! 31, 15. 49, 24 *and yet* his bow dwelleth etc. 2 Sa. 3, 8 וַתִּפְקֹד *and yet* thou visitest upon me. Job 10, 8 וַתְּבַלְּעֵנִי *and* (yet) thou goest on to swallow me up (cf. Ps. 144, 3 what is man וַתֵּדָעֵהוּ *and* (yet) thou *knowest* him[1]?). 21, 14. Isa. 51, 12 who art thou, *and* (yet) thou *fearest* etc. Pr. 30, 25–27.

Even where the event spoken of has not actually been accomplished, Jer. 38, 9 *and he is going on to die* (we might have expected וְיָמֵת, cf. Gen. 20, 11: but 'Ebed-melekh sees Jeremiah on the very road to death). Job 2, 3 *and* thou *art enticing* me. Ps. 29, 10 Yahweh sat at the deluge וַיֵּשֶׁב *and* Yahweh *sitteth on* (from that moment *went on* and *continues* sitting) a king for ever (not *shall* or *will* sit, which would break the continuity existing in the writer's mind between the two actions described: moreover, the future would, according to uniform usage, have been expressed by וְיָשַׁב, or at least וְיֵשֵׁב. The addition of לעולם does not necessitate our rendering by the future any more than in the cases where it occurs with a *perfect*, Ps. 10, 11. 74, 1). 41, 13 וַתַּצִּיבֵנִי לְפָנֶיךָ לְעוֹלָם. Amos 1, 11 (similarly with לָעַד). 1 Chr. 23, 25 *and dwelleth* in Jerusalem for ever.

80. In continuation of the *present*, as expressive of a general truth, whether this be denoted in the original by a perfect, § 12, an imperfect, §§ 32, 33, or a participle, we meet

[1] The construction in Ps. 8, 5 כי תזכרנו is different (§ 39 δ).

with וְ and the impf.: 1 Sa. 2, 6 Yahweh bringeth down into the Underworld, *and bringeth up*, 29. Isa. 31, 2. 40, 24 he bloweth upon them *and they wither*. 44, 12–15. 57, 20 for it cannot rest *and* its waters *are troubled*. Jer. 10, 13. Amos 5, 8 וַיִּשְׁפְּכֵם. Mic. 6, 16. Nah. 1, 4 f. Ps. 34, 8 the angel of Yahweh encampeth (ptcp.) . . . *and delivereth them*. 49, 15 like sheep are they set (pf.) for She'ōl, while death is their shepherd; וַיִּרְדּוּ *and* the righteous *rule* over them in the morning[1]. 65, 9 *and* (so) *they are afraid*. 90, 3. 10b. 92, 8. 94, 7. Pr. 11, 2 pride cometh וַיָּבֹא *and* humiliation *cometh* (i. e. follows quickly after it: cf. § 153). Job 5, 15. 6, 20. 7, 9 a cloud cometh to an end *and vanisheth*. 12, 22–25 (cf. Ps. 107, 40). 14, 2; Ps. 7, 13 he hath drawn his bow (p. 21, towards the bottom) וַיְכוֹנְנָהּ׃ *and made it ready*. Job 20, 15 he hath (in a given case, pictured by the poet) swallowed down riches וַיְקִאֵנּוּ *and vomiteth them up* again (not as R.V.).

After a pure present, Job 4, 5 now it cometh to thee *and* thou *art* overcome. 6, 21. 2 Sa. 19, 2 בּוֹכֶה וַיִּתְאַבֵּל is weeping *and mourning*. Jer. 6, 14.

81. In the description of future events, the impf. with וְ is used upon exactly the same principle as the perfect, i. e. it represents them as simple matters of history. There are two cases to be distinguished: (1) where the impf. is preceded by the prophetic perfect itself, (2) where it is not so preceded.

(1) Little need be said in explanation of the first. Just as elsewhere the impf. with וְ marks a continuation of the preceding tense, so here, too, it is employed if a writer desires to pourtray a future scene or series of events, as though they were unfolding themselves before his eyes, in the manner of ordinary historical occurrences. For one or two reasons, however, the impf. is not by any means so frequent in this

[1] I. e. Death, as at the Exodus, or Isa. 37, 36. Job 27, 20, performs his mission in the night. וירדו can only be referred to the future on the assumption of a change of standpoint, § 82, which, *in this connexion*, cannot be regarded as probable.

sense as the perfect: the prophets generally either prefer, after beginning with an emphatic perfect, to break off into the proper future form, or else they omit ו altogether, or separate it from the verb in such a manner as to make it impossible for the impf. in this form to appear. Isa. 5, 25. 9, 5 unto us a son is given וַתְּהִי *and* the government *is* upon his shoulder, וַיִּקְרָא *and* his name *has been* (or *is*—past extending into present, § 79) called etc.[1] 9, 18–20 (perhaps; see § 82). 24, 6. 48, 20 f. he hath redeemed Jacob . . . ויבקע *and hath cleft* the rock (here A.V. retains the pf.). 53, 2. 9 (in accordance with the *perfects* in the intermediate verses: יפתח, *v.* 7, § 36. The prophet only begins to use the future in *v.* 10). Joel 2, 23. Mic. 2, 13. Ps. 22, 30 all the fat of the earth *have eaten and worshipped* (A.V. '*shall* eat and worship,' which would be יאכלו והשתחוו, or in the slightly more energetic poetical form יאכלו וישתחוו, as *v.* 27). 109, 28.

82. (2) This case is entirely parallel to the use of the prophetic perfect noted in § 14 γ, the only difference being that, the conjunction being followed *immediately* by the verb, the tense employed (as the *perf.* with וְ would by Hebrew usage throw the event to be described into the future) is naturally the imperfect with וַ. The וַ in such cases also represents the event, often very aptly, not merely with the certainty of the prophetic perfect, but as *flowing* naturally *out of*, being an *immediate consequence* of, the situation described in the preceding sentence. It is under circumstances like these, when the transition to the new standpoint in the future is made for the first time, not by a pf. but by the impf. with וַ, that we are

[1] The change of tense made in the course of this verse by the A.V. '*and* the government *shall be*' etc. is only defensible as a concession, for the sake of clearness, to English idiom; it should not be forgotten that it presupposes a different point of view from the one adopted by the prophet. Isaiah retains the ideal standpoint, which is recognized also in the renderings *have seen, is born, is given,* till 6^{b} תעשה: the change in question substitutes the *real* standpoint prematurely, and breaks the continuity of the description.

most apt to find this tense translated by a *future:* but unless this be done solely for the sake of the English reader, who might be slow to realize the, to him, unwonted transition, it is a gross error, and implies an entire misapprehension of the Hebrew point of view. The use of וְ in the historical books, times without number, renders it inconceivable that it should have suggested anything except the idea of a *fact done*, which is clearly not that conveyed by our future; the question whether a future occurrence may be *meant*, resolving itself into this other question, whether, viz. upon a given occasion, the change of standpoint is probable, and consistent or not with analogy.

Isa. 2, 9 *and* (so) the mean man *is bowed down*, *and* the great man *humbled* (the consequences of *v.* 8, though actually appertaining to the future, described as though they had already ensued)[1]. 5, 15[a] (15[b], § 36). 16[a] וינבה (notice in 16[b] the *perfect* נקדש). 9, 10–15 (perhaps, but not certainly: see the Commentators). 59, 15[b]–17[2] (notice 16[b] the perf. סמכתהו: the *actual* future only begins with *v.* 18). Ez. 28, 16 וָאחללך (in the קִינָה upon the king of Tyre: *v.* 17, where there is no וְ, we have the pf. השלכתיך). 31, 12. Jer. 4, 16 they are coming, וַיִּתְּנוּ *and they have* uttered etc. (observe in *v.* 17 the pf. היו). 15, 6[b]–7 (perhaps). 51, 29. Ps. 64, 8–10 וַיִּרֵם וג׳ *and* (so) God *hath shot* at them etc. (where observe that even if, in the teeth of grammatical analogy, we render וַיִּרֵם *and he shall shoot* them, the difficulty is only deferred, not surmounted: the next verb היו is an unmistakeable perfect, for which the sense of the past, whether ideal or actual, must be uncon-

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[1] 'Vortrefflich fügt Jesaja, beim zweiten Modus [p. 3 *n.*] mit *Vav relat.* [p. 72] verharrend, *v.* 10 unmittelbar die Strafe solches Beginnens hinzu, die noch zukünftig ist, aber so gewiss eintritt, als die Sünde, ihre Bedingung, schon da ist' (Hitzig, *ad loc.*).

[2] The sudden transition in Rev. 11, 11. 20, 9 is worth comparing: see the rendering in Delitzsch's Hebrew translation of the N. T. (published by the British and Foreign Bible Society).

ditionally accepted. The perfect stands similarly in *v.* 10ᵇ)[1]. 94, 23.

Obs. Some passages in which וַ has the *appearance* of being future, although not so in reality:—Ps. 50, 6 (וַ is the legitimate continuation of the pff. 1, 2, 3ᵉ, describing the *scene*, pictured by the poet)[2]. 55, 18ᵇ (either a conviction as to the future like Ps. 64, 8, or an allusion to the past, comp. § 54: in either case וַ is in strict conformity with the pff. *v.* 19, and must stand or fall with them). 92, 11 f. On 77, 7ᵉ, see § 54 *note:* Hab. 1, 9ᵇ. 10ᵇ belong most probably to § 80. Can Dt. 33, 27ᵇ–28 ויגרש . . . ויאמר be fairly explained by this §? The reader has before him, if I mistake not, the passages by which his decision must be guided.

This use of וַ, rare even with the prophets, is evidently unadapted to the language of ordinary life; and Mr. Espin's recommendation on Josh. 9, 21 וַיִּהְיוּ to render 'they shall be' is an unfortunate one. The verb must be taken in its usual sense, viz. *and they became:* and the verse, which in *form* resembles Gen. 11, 3, is to be explained by § 75 *β*. 'They shall be,' as may be learnt from the first chapter of Genesis, would have been והיו.

The verbs in Joel 2, 18 f. are to be understood as descriptive of what ensued after the delivery of the prophecy 1, 2—2, 17, the past time, of which they are the continuation, being that which is *implied* in 1, 1. Mic. 3, 1 וָאֹמַר (which historically can only be attached to 1, 1). Jer. 11, 5ᵇ ואען ואמר (following similarly *v.* 1). 14, 11. 34, 6 are closely parallel, and meet the grammatical objection raised by Dr. Pusey (*Min. Proph.* pp. 96, 122), which derives its force from the supposition that the verbs in question must be in continuation of the tenses *immediately* preceding. The past sense is adopted, not only by Ewald and Hitz., but also by Delitzsch (in his article on Joel in the *Luth. Zeitsch.* 1851, p. 306), Keil (*ad loc.*), and modern scholars generally (cf. R.V.).

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[1] 'Natürlich steht wie *v.* 11, so auch *vv.* 8–10, Zukunft in Rede; und gleichwohl ist kraft des ersten Mod. 8ᵇ. 10ᵇ mit Recht überall ו vor dem 2 Mod. als relatives punktirt. Es handelt sich *vv.* 8–10 um eine Sache, die mit Gewissheit erhofft wird, gegenüber von einer gleichgültigen Folge *v.* 11,' Hitzig, excellently. Comp. Prof. Cheyne's note. The English Versions, rendering as futures, *change* the point of view of the original author, just as in Isa. 9, 5.

[2] It is noticeable that in Ps. 97, the opening verses of which are clearly imitated from Ps. 50, we have, *v.* 6, the *perfect* הגידו in exact correspondence with ויגידו here.

83. We know from § 27 (*a*) that the impf. can be employed by itself to describe single events occurring in past time. The instances there quoted were restricted to those in which the copulative *and* could have found no place, the verb being disconnected in sense with the preceding words: but cases also occur, especially in an elevated or poetical style, in which the writer, instead of adopting the usual prosaic construction of the impf. with ·ו, makes use of the impf. alone, or merely attaches it to what precedes by the simple *waw* ו. The ordinary mode of smooth progression being thus abandoned, the action introduced in the manner described is, on the one hand, cut off from the previous portions of the sentence, and rendered independent, while, on the other hand, it is depicted with the vividness and force which are characteristic of the tense, but which are disguised, or destroyed, when it is in combination with ·ו. Our own language hardly affords us the means of reproducing the effect thus created: sometimes, however, the use of the *present*, or even the addition of a note of exclamation, may enable us partially to do so.

In some of these cases the impf. appears in the *jussive* form, which seems to shew that we are right in regarding them as instances of ·ו being actually omitted, rather than as instances of the bare imperfect (according to § 27). Otherwise, indeed, the appearance of the jussive in pure narrative would be inexplicable.

Obs. The omission of ·ו has been compared by Ewald to the omission of the augment in Sanskrit and Greek. The illustration is very complete: in the first place, the shorter or 'secondary' person-endings which appear after the augment were in all probability (see G. Curtius, *Das Griechische Verbum seinem Baue nach dargestellt*, i. p. 45) originally produced through the influence of this prefix: ἐ-δίδω-ν (Sk. *á-dadā-m*), ἔ-φερε (*á-bhara-t*) differ in no essential element from δίδω-μι (*dadā-mi*), φέρει (*bhára-ti*), except in the presence of the accented demonstrative prefix which was employed in order to throw the action into the past, and the weight of which caused a compensatory change to take place in

the termination. And in the same way וַתָּשֶׂת etc. seem clearly to have arisen. But, in the second place, when this change had become fixed in language, the altered termination became as characteristic of past times, as the augment itself: it thus *acquired* a significance which primarily, as we just saw, belonged exclusively to the latter; and so the augment, at one time essential and indispensable, could be dropped (in poetry) without detriment to the sense. And upon the same principle, it would seem, we meet with וַיָּקָם, וַיָּשֶׂת etc., the altered ultima suggesting past time as unmistakeably as if the וַ· itself had been also present. But it does not appear legitimate to have recourse to this explanation in those passages where (as Ps. 11, 6) the context does not *immediately suggest* to the reader that the conjunction has been omitted. To do so would be to presuppose that a Hebrew author used a form which (whatever the cause) has a *double* meaning, under circumstances where, so far from there being anything either to intimate the sense in which it is to be taken, or to justify his putting such a sense upon it, the reader's natural impulse would be to impose upon it the meaning which was not intended.

84. We find accordingly—

(*a*) with וְ: Isa. 10, 13[b][1]. 43, 28[2] (but see p. 70, *note*). 48, 3. 51, 2[b] as a single man did I call him, *and* I blest him, *and* I multiplied him! 57, 17. 63, 3–6. Hab. 3, 5. Ps. 18, 38 (2 Sa. 22 וְ). 43. 46. 104, 32[b] (or *that*, § 63). 107, 27. Job 29, 21. 25 (freq.); and apparently also the following:—Isa. 63, 3[3] וְיֵז. Pr. 15, 25[3]. Job 13, 27[3]. 15, 33[3]. 27, 22[3]. 36, 15[3]. Hos. 11, 4[3]. It is, however, singular that, though the tense is in the abbreviated form, the conjunction should still be pointed וְ rather than וַ·: either וַיִּצֶב or וַיָּצֶב, for example, would have been at once intelligible, and would not have occasioned the surprise we undoubtedly experience at meeting

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[1] 'וְאסיר, וְאוריד zum Ausdruck des wiederholt Geschehenden: wahrscheinlich ist aber (vgl. וַתִּמְצָא *v.* 14) das Impf. consec. beabsichtigt' (Dillm.). In some of the other passages also it is doubtful whether the present punctuation represents the intention of the original author: see Appendix II.

[2] Cohortative form.

[3] Jussive forms. For a further consideration of some of these passages, see Appendix II.

וַיַּצֵּב. But when an impf. follows, not a perfect, but another impf., even if ו be still admissible (§ 80), a preference is frequently shewn in favour of וַ; and the shorter form, its *origin* being disregarded, appears to have been treated in accordance with the same analogy.

(β) without וַ: Isa. 12, 1[1] יָשֹׁב אַפְּךָ וּתְנַחֲמֵנִי. Hos. 6, 1[1] יָךְ. Hab. 3, 16 יבוא. Ps. 8, 7[a] hast made him rule (cf. 7[b], and 6 וּתְ׳). 11, 6[1]? 18, 7 (2 Sa. 22 וַ). 12[1] (2 Sa. וַ). 14 (2 Sa.). 16 (2 Sa.). 17. 18. 20. 21[a]. 37. 38 (2 Sa.[2] ארדפה followed by וַ). 39 (2 Sa. וַ). 40[b]. 42. 44 (2 Sa. וַ). 25, 9[1]. 44, 3. 11–15. 47, 4[1]. 78, 15 etc. 26[1]. 81, 8. 90, 3[1]. 107, 14. 20. 26. 27. 29[1]. 33[1]. 35[1]. 139, 13. Pr. 7, 7[2] אבינה. Job 18, 9[1]. 12[1]. 33, 27[1]. 37, 5. 38, 24[1].

85. In prose where, for variety or emphasis, a verb which would naturally be connected with the foregoing narrative by ו, is preceded by its subject or object, or in any other way separated from the conjunction, the tense which then appears is almost always the perfect. Thus Gen. 1, 5 we first have וַיִּקְרָא, but so soon as for the sake of contrast the order is changed, we find the perfect וְלַחֹשֶׁךְ קָרָא: this is constantly the case, *v.* 10. 3, 3. 17. 4, 1. 2. 4. 18. 22. 6, 8. 7, 19 etc.; or without וַ, 1, 27. 3, 16.

Poetry, however, in cases like these usually prefers the imperfect as the means of presenting the livelier image: not, of course, that the imperfect ever 'stands for' the perfect, or assumes its meaning (!), but the poet takes the opportunity thus offered of imparting brilliancy and variety to his description, the legitimate signification of the tense chosen, whether as an inceptive or as a frequentative, being always distinctly traceable. E.g. Isa. 2, 6. Hab. 3, 16. 19; often in the historical Psalms, as 18, 8 ירגזו . . . ו. 9 תאבל . . . ו. 14 etc.

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[1] Jussive forms. For a further consideration of some of these passages, see Appendix II. On Isa. 50, 2 וָתָמֹת . . . תבאש, see § 64 *Obs.*

[2] Cohortative forms; cf. above, §§ 54, 72.

24, 2. 50, 19. 78, 20 *and* torrents *overflowed.* 29 etc. 81, 7. 13. 104, 6–9. 105, 44. 107, 6 etc. Pr. 7, 21b. Job 4, 12. 15. 10, 10. 11.

On the occasional use of וְ in introducing the predicate, or apodosis, see § 127.

Obs. It is maintained apparently by some scholars (see Hitzig on Jer. 44, 22. Ps. 27, 10. 44, 10, and compare Ewald, § 346b) that these and certain similar passages present examples of what may be termed a dissolution or disintegration of the construction with waw consecutive—the verb, after its separation from ו, being permitted to remain in the imperfect without any special significance being attached to it[1]. But this opinion cannot be deemed probable. No fact about the Hebrew language is more evident than the *practical equivalence* of ויקרא and קרא . . . ו: these are the two alternative formulae which in countless passages interchange with one another: the peculiar point of view which determined the selection of the construction with וְ (even if then always consciously preserved) was entirely dropped when the verb parted company with its conjunction. In the *comparatively* few[2] cases, therefore, where instead of קרא . . . ו we find the formula יקרא . . . ו, it is fair to conclude that the writers had some special object in selecting the unusual tense: even in poetry, if we find *x* used where a prose writer would have employed *y*, we cannot assume the two to be identical, but must suppose that the choice of the one in preference to the other rested upon some particular ground, such as that suggested in the text.

The theory offered by Hitzig to account for the presence of the imperfect in passages such as Ps. 32, 5 seems too artificial to be probable.

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[1] Hitzig quotes Dt. 2, 12. Josh. 15, 63. 1 Sa. 27, 4. 2 Sa. 15, 37. 1 Ki. 20, 33. Isa. 40, 14. 41, 6. Jer. 52, 7. Job 3, 25. Cant. 3, 4. But in all these places the impf. possesses a marked significance according to §§ 27, 30, where, indeed, several of the passages have been already cited.

[2] Even after a little word like לא it is quite rare to find the impf.; against nearly fifty cases of ולא שמע and ולא שמעו, there is but one (in past time) of ולא ישמעו, viz. 1 Sa. 2, 25.

CHAPTER VII.

Accents.

86. It was remarked incidentally § 69 that when the imperfect was preceded by ·l a retrocession of tone frequently took place: beyond endeavouring, however, to assign a cause for this phenomenon, we did not pause to examine the laws by which it is governed, or to lay down rules by which the place of the tone might be ascertained. In the construction which will have to be explained in the next chapter, that, namely, of the *perfect* with waw consecutive, a change takes place (if circumstances permit it) in the *opposite* direction, the tone, if ordinarily upon the penultima, being *thrown forward* on to the ultima: this alteration forms such a noticeable and striking feature, and is, moreover, of such extreme importance as an index to the meaning conveyed by the tense, that the rules by which it is determined must be carefully stated and ought to be thoroughly understood and mastered by the reader. For this purpose it will be necessary to refer briefly to the nature of the *accents* in Hebrew, and to the principles upon which the use made of them depends[1].

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[1] The English reader is advised, with reference to what follows, to consult Gesenius, §§ 15, 16, 29. The standard work on the subject consists, however, of the two companion treatises of Dr. W. Wickes, *On the Accentuation of the Three so-called Poetical Books of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1881), and *On the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1887), which contain

87. The student will be aware that in Hebrew the accents serve two purposes: by their disposition in a given verse, they indicate the subdivisions, whatever their number, into which it naturally falls when recited by an intelligent reader; these subdivisions, determined as they obviously are by the sense of the passage, will on the one hand correspond with our *stops*—so far, at least, as the latter go (for they are by no means so numerous as the Hebrew accents): on the other hand, inasmuch as in every sentence when spoken, unless it is intentionally delivered in a monotone, the voice rises or falls in accordance with the meaning, they will clearly be equally well adapted to mark the changes in the modulation of the voice during chanting or solemn recitation. It is in their first character, as grammatical or syntactical symbols, that we have here to regard them.

88. The principles regulating accentuation—of which, as is well known, there are two different systems, one applied in the prose books of the Old Testament, the other in the three (specially) poetical books, Psalms, Proverbs, Job (the dialogue parts, from 3, 2 to 42, 6)—are complicated and abstruse. For practical purposes, however, a few simple rules will be found sufficient; and those who will take the trouble to acquaint themselves with no more than what is stated in Gesenius' Grammar, or even with the briefer and, of course, only provisional exposition which will be given here, will, it is believed, derive no small advantage from the study[1].

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a lucid and admirable exposition of the principles of Hebrew accentuation, together with abundant illustrations of the use of the accents as logical or syntactical symbols. For those who desire to master the subject of Hebrew accents these two treatises are indispensable.

[1] The purport of this chapter will not, it is hoped, be misunderstood. Some acquaintance with accents is indispensable to the Hebrew student: not only for the single object, with a view to which this account of them has been inserted here, but upon more general grounds as well: they frequently offer material assistance in unravelling the sense of a difficult

89. The presence of waw consecutive is often marked by a change of the tone-syllable: our first question, then, will be, How can the tone-syllable be ascertained?

The answer is very simple: with one or two exceptions it will be found that in every word provided with an accent, *the accent marks the tone-syllable.*

Without, therefore, as yet even knowing the *name* of the accents employed, we at once see that in וּכְפֹרְתָ Gen. 6, 14. וְאָסַפְתָּ 21. וְהִקְמֹתִי 9, 11. וְזָכַרְתִּי 15[1], the waw is consecutive: contrast 9, 17 וַהֲקִמֹתִי. Qoh. 2, 15 **ואמרתי** *and I said* (for which the older language would have written וָאֹמַר). 8, 15 וְשִׁבַּחְתִּי.

90. Some of the accents, however, have the peculiarity of being always affixed to the *first* or the *last* letter of a word, whether it begin a tone-syllable or not: these are called respectively *prepositives* and *postpositives.* When these occur, the reader can only determine where the tone really lies from his knowledge of the language: but he will not be unnecessarily misled by them, because the other accents (which *do* mark the tone) are always placed above or below

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passage; and the best authorities continually appeal to them, on account of their bearing upon exegesis. Experience tells me how liable they are to be overlooked; and the object of the present chapter is merely to smooth the way for those who may desire to pursue the subject more thoroughly afterwards, or, for such as have not the time or inclination to do this, to lay down a few broad rules which may be of practical service.

[1] The *metheg* (i.e. *bridle*) in these words is added in order to support or *hold back* the voice from hurrying onwards and so shortening the ante-penultima unduly (as in וְזָכַרְתֶּם). In any word the second syllable before that on which the principal tone rests will be felt to have a secondary accent or *counter-tone* (e.g. con'demna'tion, cor'respond'): in Hebrew, when this is an *open* syllable, the counter-tone is marked by *metheg* (Gen. 20, 5 וְהִיא־גַם־הִיא אָמַר־לִי, but בְּתָם־לְבָבִי without it), or, in certain cases, by some other accent which fills its place (8, 19 למשפחתיהם).

the *first consonant* of the syllable to which they refer, and *immediately to the left* of the vowel-point (if the consonant in question have one in such a position that the accent might clash with it), whereas the *pre-* and *postpositives* always stand on the *extreme right* or *left* respectively of the word to which they belong.

Thus no one can doubt that in עֲשֶׂב Gen. 1, 11. דֶּשֶׁא 12. בְּלִבבכם Ps. 4, 5 we have instances of prepositives (contrast בֵּין Gen. 1, 7. וְהָיוּ 1, 15); or that in הָאָדָם 2, 23. אלהים 1, 7. לָאוֹר 1, 5. ויקח 9, 23. כְּעֵץ Ps. 1, 3 we have before us postpositives (contrast שרצו Gen. 1, 21: though similar in form, the difference of position is enough to discriminate the accent here from that upon לאור 1, 5: compare, too, אשר 2, 19 with אשר 1, 7).

Whenever, then, an accent appears on the *extreme* right or left of a word, it cannot be regarded as an index of the tone-syllable: of course it *may* mark it (though even then it will not be in its proper position, as regards the *whole* syllable, for so doing), but it will do it only accidentally.

91. There are only eight pre- and postpositives: some of the latter, however, when they are attached to words accented on the penultima (*mil'el*) are written twice—on the ultima as being postpositive, on the penultima to mark the actual tone of the word. This is always the case with *pashṭa*, an accent which from this circumstance catches the eye very frequently: as Gen. 1, 1 תֹהוּ. 7 הַמַּיִם. 9. 11. 12 etc.: and in Baer and Delitzsch's editions (of Genesis and of other books) the same duplication is adopted with the other postpositives[1] as well, 'ut omnis dubitatio, utrum hoc illudve vocabulum milel sit an milra, praecaveretur' (praef. p. vii); see 1, 7 את־הרקיע. 2, 23 ויאמר. 13, 1 ויעל etc. Thus where

[1] And likewise with *telisha magnum* among the prepositives, e.g. 7, 2 אֲשֶׁר. 27, 46; Isa. 36, 11 אליקים etc.

we find the *same* accent repeated upon one word we may know that *the tone is on the penultima*[1].

92. On the other hand where (for reasons which need not be here discussed) two *different* accents appear attached to one word, *the tone is indicated by the second*[2]. Thus Gen. 17, 24 וְאַבְרָהָם. 25. 19, 27 אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם; Ps. 1, 1 רִשְׁעִים. 2 חָפְצוֹ. 3. 4 אִם־כַּמּוֹץ (tone indicated by the point over מ *above* the cholem). 2, 2 עַל־יְהוָה. 3, 8 קוּמָה. 4, 9 לָבֶטַח.

93. These short and simple rules will be found sufficient for the purpose of ascertaining on what syllable in a given case the tone lies: we must next consider some of the *general* principles of accentuation, from which it results as *particular* instances that the tone after *waw consecutive* in the perfect, in certain cases, is not thrown forward on to the ultima. The regular form for *and I will kill* is וקטלתי *w'qâṭalti*, the double beat being as distinctly marked as in the English words *per'severe', cor'respond':* but under certain conditions we find וקטלתי *w'qaṭálti* with the same meaning: and the nature of these conditions must be here examined[3].

94. Hebrew accents are of two kinds. The first kind, called *distinctive* accents, correspond roughly to modern *stops*, and, like the latter, indicate the breaks or divisions in a sentence required by the meaning: they are, however, more numerous than our stops, because they measure with

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[1] This rule is valid for all ordinary editions of the Hebrew text (in which, indeed, its application is limited to the single case of *pashṭa*): the reader who uses Baer and Delitzsch may easily modify it as follows:— Where a *postpositive* accent is repeated, the tone is marked by the *first* accent; where a *prepositive* is repeated, the tone is marked by the *second* accent.

[2] Except in the rare case of 'incomplete retrocession,' Kalisch, ii. § xi. 5; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 29. 3[b].

[3] The tone likewise remains upon the penultima in particular forms of the *weak* verb: but as the rules for the cases in which this occurs are independent of accentual considerations, they will not be stated till the next chapter.

greater minuteness the precise length of each break, and because they mark further those slighter and sometimes hardly perceptible pauses which in most languages are regulated by the voice alone. The other kind, termed *conjunctive* accents, are peculiar to Hebrew: they shew, generally, that the word to which one of them is attached is closely connected in sense with that which immediately follows it: in English this would only be denoted by a smooth and unbroken pronunciation.

95. For our present purpose it is the distinctive accents which possess the greatest interest: it will be accordingly worth while to specify the more important among them, i.e. those which mark some considerable break in the sense, and which, therefore, in translation will commonly be represented by a stop.

96. Firstly, in the prose books:—

The end of a verse is always indicated by the perpendicular line called *sillūq*, followed by *sôph-pāsūq* (:'end of the verse'): thus Gen. 1, 4 : הַחֹשֶׁךְ (the *sillūq* on the tone-syllable according to rule, חשך being a segolate noun, and consequently *mil'el*).

Every verse (except a few, and these generally short ones, as Gen. 2, 1, though not always, as Dt. 5, 23. 6, 22) is divided into two parts—but by no means necessarily *equal* parts, see e.g. Gen. 1, 11. 2, 19. 7, 21. Lev. 8, 19—by *athnach:* this marks the principal pause in the whole verse. Thus Gen. 1, 1 אֱלֹהִים. 2, 17 מִמֶּנּוּ.

The two perpendicular dots ֚, so frequently meeting the eye, mark a break of shorter duration: this accent is called *zaqef*,—or *zaqef-qaṭon*, if it be desired to distinguish it from ֫, which is termed *zaqef-gadol:* see Gen. 2, 9 הַגָּן and וּטְעַן. 10 מִשָּׁם, and 3, 10 וַיֹּאמֶר.

Zaqef may stand in either the first or the second half of a verse, i.e. it may precede either *athnach* or *sôph-pāsūq:* in

the former case (but in that only) its place is, under certain circumstances[1], taken by *segolta* ֽ, as Gen. 1, 7. 28. 2, 23 הָאדָֽם.

A still slighter pause is indicated by *revía'*, as Gen. 1, 2 והָאָרֶץ. 2, 21 ויִקַּח 23 הַפַּעַם. 3, 16 אמֹר.

The last prose accent which need be considered for our present purpose is *ṭifcha*[2]: this strictly marks a greater break than *revía'*, although from the position which it occupies in the verse, it often cannot be so readily represented in English. Examples: Gen. 2, 7 הָאָדָם. 18 עֵזֶר.

97. Two or three verses translated with the stops or pauses indicated, will make this perfectly clear: it ought, however, to be observed that in Hebrew the various parts of a verse are proportioned out and correlated to each other somewhat differently from what might appear natural in English.

Gen. 3, 1 now the serpent was subtil, (*zaqef*, comma,) beyond any beast of the field (*zaqef*[3], slight pause, in German a comma before the following relative) which the Lord God had made: (*athnach*, colon, or even full stop, as A. V.:) and he said unto the woman, (*zaqef*, comma,) Yea, hath God said, (*zaqef*,) Ye shall not eat (*zaqef*, slight pause) of every tree of the garden? 3 but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, (*segolta*,) God hath said,

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[1] See Wickes, *Prose Accents*, p. 71 ff.

[2] Otherwise called *ṭarcha*: and this is the name it bears (in most editions) in the Massoretic notes, e.g. on Jud. 17, 1, where the marginal comment upon אפרים is קמץ בטרחא i.e. *qameṣ* with *ṭarcha*. The Massorah here calls attention to the *pausal* form of the word being generated by a *smaller* distinctive: this it does continually; see, for instance, Josh. 5, 14. 8, 1. 17, 14. 19, 50. Jud. 1, 15. 5, 27. 7, 5. 8, 26 (all cases of the pausal form with *zaqef*, which is considerably more common than with *ṭarcha*).

[3] Where the same disjunctive accent is *repeated* (without one of greater value intervening), the first marks a greater break than the second. This is often evident from the sense and rhythm, e.g. Gen. 18, 25. 19, 21. 22. 29. 20, 7. 13.

(*revîa'*, comma,) Ye shall not eat of it, (*zaqef*,) neither shall ye touch it: (*athnach*, followed, after a pause, by the reason, added emphatically and by itself:) lest ye die.

In *v.* 6[a] מִפְרְיָו (comma, A. V.) we have an instance of *ṭifcha* exhibiting a disjunctive force, which can be felt even by the English reader: similarly 6[b] עִמָּהּ. 9 לָוְ. 10 אֲנִכִי. 12 מִן־הָעֵץ etc.; elsewhere its value is not equal to more than that of a slight pause in the voice, as *v.* 8 בְּגַן. 11 אֲכַלְתָּ־מִמֶּנּוּ.

98. Secondly, in the poetical books:—

Here, as before, *sillūq* with *sôph-pāsūq* marks the end of the verse, Ps. 2, 2 וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ: 3 עֲבֹתֵימוֹ. The other principal divisions are indicated by *athnach* (as Ps. 1, 6 צַדִּיקִים), and a compound accent called *merkha with mahpakh*, or *merkha mahpakhatum*[1], as Ps. 1, 2 חֶפְצוֹ. 3, 6 וְאֹיֶשֶׁת: this accent is always placed *before athnach*, corresponding, in this respect, to *segolta* in prose. In the poetical books *athnach* does not mark such a decided break[2] as *merkha mahp.*; the latter, accordingly, in verses consisting of only two members, is not unfrequently employed by preference, to the exclusion of *athnach*[3]. The only other distinctive accents which need be noticed here are—

ṣinnor, a postpositive (to be distinguished from *ṣinnorith*, which is a *conjunctive* accent and *not* postpositive), as Ps. 3, 3 רַבִּים. 13, 6 בָּטָחְתִּי;

revîa', as Ps. 4, 2 צִדְקִי. 2, 8 מַמְלָכוֹת; often preceded by *geresh* on the same word, and then called accordingly *revîa' mugrāsh*, as Ps. 1, 1 לַצִּים. 2, 8 וַאֲחֻזָּתְךָ. 4, 2 חָנֵּנִי; and

dechi' (prepositive), as 2, 9 תְּרֹעֵם. 10 וְעַתָּה.

Examples:—

Ps. 1, 1 happy is the man (*revîa'*, slight pause) who hath

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[1] Sometimes also (e.g. by Delitzsch) termed, from its situation *above* and *below* the word, עולה ויורד *'oleh weyored*.

[2] See Ps. 3, 6. 4, 7. 9. 14, 2. 30, 10. 45, 15 etc.

[3] E.g. Ps. 1, 2. 3, 3. 4, 5. 5, 7. 11, 6 etc.

not walked in the counsel of the wicked; (*merkha ;*) and in the way of sinners (*dechi*, slight pause) hath not stood, (*athnach*,) and in the seat of the scornful (*revîa'*) hath not sat.

27, 4 one thing have I asked of the Lord, (*ṣinnor*,) *it* will I seek for: (*merkha*, chief pause:) that I should dwell in the house of the Lord (*dechi*) all the days of my life; (*athnach ;*) to gaze on the pleasantness of the Lord, (*revîa'*,) and to meditate in his temple[1].

40, 13 for evils have compassed me about (*pazer*, slighter than *dechi*,) till they are beyond numbering; (*revîa' ;*) my iniquities have taken hold upon me, (*dechi*,) and I cannot look up: (*athnach :*) they are more than the hairs of my head; (*revîa' mugrāsh ;*) and my heart hath forsaken me.

99. Now there are one or two peculiarities of Hebrew usage dependent upon the position assumed by a word in a sentence, and consequently of such a nature as to be relative to, and ascertainable by, the accents with which it is provided, which materially modify the general rule that when the perfect is used with the waw consecutive the tone is thrown forward on to the ultima.

100. The first of these is the dislike felt to *two accented syllables succeeding one another, unless separated by a decided pause in pronunciation*, i.e. unless the first has a distinctive accent: where this is the case, however short the pause may be, the voice has time to take rest and recover strength, so as to give proper utterance to what follows. But where such a pause cannot be made, the collision is very commonly avoided by one of the following two expedients: either, namely, the tone of the first word is *forced back* (the vowel in the now toneless ultima being, if necessary, shortened),

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[1] Observe here how accurately the accentuation reflects the sense; the two infinitives introduced by ל, *to gaze* and *to meditate*, stand by themselves as the two co-ordinate objects of שבתי: they are accordingly marked off from the latter by means of *athnach*.

or recourse is had to *maqqef*, which, throwing the two words into one, causes the *proper* tone of the first to disappear[1]. Instances may readily be found: Gen. 4, 2 רֹעֵה צֹאן. 6 חֲרָה לָךְ. 22 תֹּובֵל קַיִן. 13, 9 הִפָּרֵד נָא. Isa. 40, 7 נְשָׁבָה בּוֹ. 23 שֹׁפְטֵי אֶרֶץ will exemplify the first expedient: Gen. 6, 14 עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר. 9, 7 וּרְבוּ־בָהּ: will exemplify the second.

Now when either of these expedients is adopted with a perfect preceded by וְ consecutive, it is plain that the characteristic position of the tone will cease to exist.

Thus Dt. 14, 26 וְאָכַלְתָּ שָׁם, although in the same verse we have both וְנָתַתָּה and וְשָׂמַחְתָּ; Amos 1, 4. 7 ושלַחתי אֵשׁ, but *v.* 5 ושָׁבַרתי. 8 והכרתי. Lev. 26, 25 ושלַחתי דֶּבֶר and even Dt. 4, 25 וְעֲשִׂיתֶם פֶּסֶל. Ez. 39, 17: in all these cases the tone has been *driven back* on to the penultima[2]. Instances of the second expedient are rarer: see Zech. 9, 10 וְהִכְרַתִּי־רֶכֶב. Ez. 14, 13[b]. Isa. 8, 17 וְקִוִּיתִי־לוֹ: (Baer).

101. The second of the peculiarities alluded to is that owing to the manner in which the voice is naturally inclined to rest on the last accented syllable before a pause, the vowel belonging to that syllable is, if possible, *lengthened* (as הַמָּיִם Gen. 1, 6), or, if it be a verbal form such as שָׁמְעוּ (*milraʿ*), the *shwa'* is replaced by the original vowel, *to which the tone then recedes*[3], as שָׁמֵעוּ (*milʿel*). Thus, for example, Gen. 2, 25 יִתְבּוֹשָׁשׁוּ:. 9, 4 תֹּאכֵלוּ:. 24, 46 הִשְׁקָתָה:. Isa. 53, 7 נאלָמה (pf., not the participle, which is *milraʿ*: see 1, 21. 26[4]). 54, 11 לֹא נֻחָמָה.

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[1] Comp. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 29. 3[b, c], etc.

[2] The rule, however, is not carried out with perfect uniformity: for instances occur in which the tone is permitted to remain on the ultima: e.g. Ex. 29, 5. 43. 30, 26. Dt. 23, 14 al. But in this respect the practice with regard to the perfect and ו only presents us with similar exceptions to those which meet us elsewhere: cf. Dt. 7, 25. 20, 6 al.

[3] But this recession does not take place when the old heavy termination וּן- is retained in the impf., as Ps. 12, 9.

[4] Cf. above, p. 18 *n.*: and contrast further Nu. 21, 20 with Cant. 6, 10; 1 Ki. 2, 46 נָכוֹנָה with Ps. 5, 10 נְכוֹנָה; Esth. 8, 15 שָׂמְחָה *she rejoiced*

This is almost always the case with the two principal distinctive accents *sillūq* and *athnach* (except in a very few words[1] such as מֶלֶךְ, which never change), and not unfrequently with those of smaller value, particularly *zaqef*[2], although with these the usage fluctuates.

Similarly, when a perfect with waw consecutive stands in pause, in order, apparently, to afford the voice a more suitable resting-place than it would find if the accent were violently thrown forward to the ultima, the tone is allowed to *revert to the penultima*, e.g. Dt. 8, 10 וְאָכַלְתָּ וְשָׂבָעְתָּ. 28, 39. Jud. 4, 8 וְהָלַכְתִּי.

102. We thus obtain *two* cases in which a *regular* verb, that would under other circumstances have the tone thrown forward, *retains it on the penultima*, (1) where the verb is *immediately followed* by a tone-syllable, (2) where the verb is *in pause*. The position thus assumed by the tone, it will be seen, follows naturally from the general principles regulating the changes that take place in all other words similarly placed.

103. It will not be necessary to comment further upon the first of these cases: nor does the second call for any additional remark so far as *sillūq* and *athnach* are concerned, as the usage is there clear and uniform. But in reference to the smaller distinctive accents, the practice of the language must be more attentively examined, as it will be found to explain a difficulty which arises from a certain small number

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(wrongly cited in Fürst's *Concordance* as an *adjective*) with Ps. 113, 9 שְׂמֵחָה *rejoicing*.

[1] A list of the exceptions in Genesis may be found in Baer and Delitzsch's convenient edition of the text of that book, pp. 79 f.: see, further, their *Isaiah*, p. 82; *Job*, p. 64; *Liber xii Prophetarum*, p. 96; *Psalms* (1880), p. 151; and Kalisch, ii. § xiii. 7.

[2] In these cases attention is often (though not always) called to the change by a Massoretic note at the bottom of the page: see p. 106 *n.*; also Baer and Delitzsch, *Genesis*, p. 96; *Isaiah*, p. 95 etc.

of seemingly anomalous instances in which the tone is *not* thrown forward after וְ consecutive, although, at first sight, no reason seems to exist for the neglect of the usual rule. The fact is, that in these cases a *smaller distinctive* is really present, which the eye is apt to overlook: *sillūq*, *athnach*, and *zaqef* are better known and more readily distinguished. In order to exhibit the influence of these smaller distinctives in as clear a light as possible, it will be well, in the first place, to shew that instances occur in which they produce the same lengthening of a vowel as those accents which note a more decided pause: when this has been done, it will no longer surprise us to find that they likewise resemble the latter in hindering the tone after waw consecutive from passing forward to the ultima. It will be observed, that the lengthened vowel marks usually a word upon which some peculiar emphasis rests.

Thus with *ṭifcha*, Gen. 15, 14 יַעַבֹדוּ. Lev. 27, 10. Nu. 21, 20 וְנִשְׁקָפָה. Dt. 13, 5 תֵּלֵכוּ. 1 Ki. 20, 18. 40b. Isa. 3, 26 וְנִקְתָה. 9, 9. 27, 10[1]. Jer. 1, 8. Hos. 7, 11. 8, 7 יִזְרָעוּ. Amos 3, 8 שָׁאָג al.

revia', Lev. 5, 23 גָּזָל. Dt. 5, 14 בְּהֶמְתֶּךָ. 13, 7. Ez. 23, 37 כִּי נֹאֲפוּ. Hos. 7, 12 אֵלֵכוּ. Hag. 1, 6. Neh. 12, 43 etc.

pashṭa, Isa. 33, 20 בַּל־יִצָּעֵן. 2 Ki. 3, 25 יִסְתְּמוּ. Dan. 9, 19 שְׁמָעָה. Neh. 3, 34 al.

And in the poetical books:—

sinnor, Ps. 31, 11 חַיָּי. 93, 1 מָלָךְ.

great revia', Ps. 19, 14 עַבְדֶּךָ, 37, 20 יֹאבְדוּ. 47, 10 al. Job 21, 17. 24, 12 יִנְאָקוּ; and when preceded by *geresh*, Ps. 37, 6. 23 כְּאוֹרֶךָ. Job 9, 20b אֲנִי. 17, 1 נִזְעָקוּ.

dechi, Ps. 5, 12 יְרַנְנוּ. 45, 2 אֲנִי. 97, 1. Job 9, 20 f. 17, 1 חֲבָלָה[2].

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[1] Cf. Isa. 64, 3 יעשׂה, with Delitzsch's note; cf. also Ges.-K. § 75. 17; König i. p. 531.

[2] And with still smaller accents Lev. 5, 18. Ez. 40, 4. 1 Ki. 1, 26.

104. These instances (which might readily be multiplied) afford ample proof that a smaller distinctive is competent to give rise to the pausal change of vowel—a power only regularly exercised by *athnach* and *sillūq:* it will not, therefore, now seem anomalous when we see that, like the latter, they also prevent the tone after waw consecutive from being thrown forward, even though the pause in the sense indicated by their presence may not be sufficiently decided to produce at the same time the accompanying lengthening of the vowel which usually ensues in the case of the other two accents named. Accordingly we find—

In prose books:—

With *zaqef*, Dt. 2, 28 וְאֶבְלְתִי. 1 Sa. 29, 8 ונלחַמתי. Ez. 3, 26 וְנֶאֱלַמְתָּ; and *zaqef-gadol*, Dt. 32, 40 ואמַּרתי.

ṭifcha, Joel 4, 21 וְנִקֵּיתִי. Obadiah 10 וְנִכְרַתָּ. Isa. 66, 9 וְעָצַרְתִּי (where the וְ is consecutive, and introduces a question, as 1 Sa. 25, 11 וְלָקַחְתִּי).

revîa', 2 Sa. 9, 10 וְהֵבֵאתָ[1].

pashṭa, Jer. 4, 2 וְנִשְׁבַּעְתָּ.

In poetical books:—

With *great revîa'*, Ps. 50, 21 וְהֶחֱרַשְׁתִּי Hitz. Pr. 30, 9[a] פן אשבע[2] ובחשתי וְאָמַרְתִּי. Job 7, 4[a] וְאָמַרְתִּי.

And *revîa'* with *geresh*, Ps. 19, 14 וְנִקֵּיתִי. 28, 1 פן תחשה וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי. Pr. 23, 8 וְשִׁחַתָּ. 30, 9[b] וְתָפַשְׂתִּי. Job 31, 29 . . . אם

3, 25. Dt. 13, 7: Ps. 5, 12 בך. Prov. 30, 4. For several of the passages referred to I am indebted to Ewald, § 100[c].

[1] Disallowed by Böttcher, ii. 204, who appeals to 2 Ki. 9, 7. Jer. 21, 6. But הביא, in both the first and the second person, is everywhere else *milra'* (Lev. 26, 36 is, of course, to be explained by § 102. 1), and as regards the two passages cited, it is the exception for the tone in Hif'il not to be thrown on, and no one contends that the usage, with the smaller distinctives, is so uniform that they *always* keep it back. Probably also in Gen. 24, 8. 1 Sa. 23, 2[a]. Isa. 8, 17[a] וחכיתי the *mil'el* tone is to be attributed, at least partially, in the two former to the presence of *zaqef*, in the latter to that of *pashṭa*.

[2] So in ordinary texts: Baer, however, has ואמרתי.

וְהִתְעָרַרְתִּי . . . אִשְׁמַח *if I used to rejoice . . . and elate myself.*

dechi, Job 5, 24 f. וְיָדַעְתָּ (the absence of *metheg* under יָ, unlike the otherwise similar passage 11, 18. 19, is an indication that the tone must be *mil'el*[1]). 22, 13 וְאָמַרְתָּ. 32, 16 וְהוֹחַלְתִּי[2].

The reader will now be prepared to proceed to the closer examination of the remarkable idiom which, without some elucidation of the nature of accents and the laws which regulate their use, it would be impossible properly to understand.

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[1] Baer, however, reads וְיָדַעְתָּ, in which case the passage will offer no irregularity.

[2] So in ordinary texts: Baer, however, reads in these two passages וְאָמַרְתָּ and וְהוֹחַלְתִּי, with 'heavy' metheg, or *Ga'ya*, attached to the *Shwa'*. The position of the tone is in this case ambiguous: on the one hand, it may be *milra'*, the *Ga'ya* standing in accordance with the rule in Baer's 'Methegsetzung' (in Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des A.T.s*, i. 1869), p. 202, § 35 (where Job 32, 16 is quoted); on the other hand, it may be *mil'el*, the *Ga'ya* being explained by the rule, *ib.* § 37. According to the note in Baer's *Job*, p. 62, Ben Asher (whom Baer follows) reads in 32, 16 וְהוֹחַלְתִּי (which Baer now, in opposition to his view in 1869, refers to § 37, and treats as *mil'el*), Ben Naphtali וְהוֹחַלְתִּי (*milra'*). If the tone be *milra'*, there will, of course, be no irregularity.

I believe these are all the occasions upon which the accents named prevent the tone being thrown forward after waw consecutive. It must be understood, however, that the influence of the smaller distinctives, as exhibited in both these sections, is exceptional: in the majority of instances they effect no change in the form of a word: see, for example, Ex. 18, 16. Dt. 8, 6. 2 Sa. 11, 21. On the other hand, we occasionally find the non-pausal form retained even with *athnach* and *sôph-pāsūq:* see instances in Kalisch, ii. § xiii. 3, and add Prov. 30, 9[a].

RESERVED BOOK

CHAPTER VIII.

The Perfect with Waw Consecutive.

105. A construction which is the direct antithesis of that which was last examined (in Chap. VI) will now engage our attention. Both are peculiar to Hebrew: and both, where possible, declare their presence to the ear by a change in the position of the tone; but while in the one the tone recedes, in the other it advances. The one is the form adapted to represent actions conceived as *real*, or as appertaining to a definite date, the other—and we shall perceive this distinction most plainly when we come to compare the cases in which the infinitive and participle break off into one or other of these constructions respectively—is the form adapted to represent such as can be only *contingently* realized, or are indeterminate in their character or time of occurrence. If the one can be applied to the future only when it is contemplated as fixed and definite, the other can be applied to events in the past or present only so long as the time of their taking place is conceived as unfixed and indefinite. The one, accordingly, is the companion and complement of the *perfect*, the other is the companion and complement of the *imperfect*. יָרַד וַיַּעֲמֹד denote two concrete events: יֵרֵד וְיַעֲמֹד denote two abstract possibilities, the context fixing the particular conditions upon which their being realized depends. And exactly as before, when the verb became separated from the וְ, it lapsed into the *perfect*, so here, when its connexion with וְ is broken, it lapses regularly into the *imperfect*:

in both cases, then, it is essentially the *union* of the verb with the conjunction which produces, and conditions, the special signification assumed by the formula as a whole.

Obs. The present idiom is peculiar to the Hebrew of the Old Testament, and to such Hebrew of a later date as is written in imitation of the Biblical style: it is not found in the 'New Hebrew' of the Mishnah, etc., nor is it used in Aramaic. Though no example occurs on the Inscription of Mesha', it may however be inferred that, like the corresponding construction of the impf. with וַ, it was in use in Moabitish (see p. 71, *note* [2]), and probably also in the kindred dialects spoken by other neighbours of the ancient Hebrews. On some passages in the Qor'an, where the perfect, both with and without the conjunction و, is used of *future* time, see App. III.

106. However difficult it may appear to find a satisfactory explanation of this waw consecutive with the perfect, one thing is perfectly clear, and ought most carefully to be borne in mind: a *real difference* of some kind or other exists between the use of the perfect with simple *waw*, and the use of the perfect with waw consecutive, and the external indication of this difference is to be found in the *alteration of the tone* which constantly attends and accompanies it. This alteration of tone must unquestionably have constituted a recognized element in the traditions now embodied in the Massoretic system of punctuation; and the authorities who added the points must have felt that in indicating this change of tone they were only adhering to a practice current in their day, and doubtless handed down from a period when Hebrew was a living and growing language. For, it must be distinctly remembered, the cases in which וְ consecutive is employed are, in a syntactical point of view, *totally dissimilar* to those in which the simple וְ is used. The difference in form is thus essentially relative to a difference in grammatical value; and, slight though the change may appear, וְקָטַלְתָּ can never be substituted for וְקָטַלְתָּ without introducing a material modification of the sense. Exactly, therefore, as in English

and German, we do not stultify ourselves by reading *con'vict*, *inva'lid*, *pre'sent*, *geb'et* (give!), where the context demands *convict'*, *in'valid'*, *present'*, *gebet'* (prayer), so in Hebrew we must beware of saying *w'qaṭálta* when grammar and logic call for *w'qáṭaltá*.

107. But upon what principle does the change of tone correspond to or represent a change of meaning? Or, putting for the moment the change of tone out of the question, what principle will explain the use of the perfect in the present connexion at all? What is the mysterious power which enables the Hebrew to say פֶּן־יָבוֹא וְהִכַּנִי *lest he come and smite me*, but peremptorily and inexorably forbids him to say פֶּן־יָבוֹא וְאֹתִי הִכָּה, which, if he desires to throw the verb later on in the sentence, forces him to write פֶּן־יָבוֹא וְאֹתִי יַכֶּה, while it vetoes absolutely פֶּן־יָבוֹא וַיַּכֵּנִי?

Although one of the most prominent uses of the perfect with *waw* is after an imperative, or in the description of the future, and it might therefore be thought capable of explanation on the principle of the prophetic perfect, or the perfect of certitude, it must not be forgotten that there are many other occasions of a widely different character, upon which, nevertheless, the same construction is employed[1]: we thus require some more *general* principle than that of the prophetic perfect, which will at the same time account for its appearance in the latter cases as well. We also require some explanation of the fact that, while the form וְכִפַּרְתָּ אֹתָהּ Gen. 6, 14 occurs often enough, we never meet with וְאֹתָהּ כִּפַּרְתָּ, or even וְאֹתָהּ כִּפַּרְתָּ, but only with וְאֹתָהּ תְּכַפֵּר (or the imperative, if necessary).

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[1] This is important, though it is apt to be imperfectly apprehended: Mr. Turner, for example (*Studies*, etc., pp. 398–402), draws no distinction between the 'prophetic perfect' (§§ 13, 14 above) and the perfect with ו consecutive, and omits altogether to notice the use of the latter after לְמַעַן, פֶּן etc. (§ 115).

108. According to Ewald, § 234[a, b], the construction of the perfect with ו consecutive (the 'relatively-progressive' perfect: cf. above, p. 71, *n.* 4) was originally evoked by the opposite idiom of the imperfect with ו consecutive: there are many well-known aspects under which the two tenses stand contrasted, and the use of the one naturally suggests the other as its antithesis, and so in the present case a specific application of the latter generated as its counterpart a corresponding application of the former. Just as before we saw how sequence in time or association in thought caused an already completed action to be viewed as passing into a new phase, assuming a fresh development in the next act taken up by the narrative, so here it has the contrary result of occasioning a *nascent* action to be viewed as *advancing to completion*, as no longer remaining in suspension, but as being (so to say) precipitated. Olshausen, § 229[a], and Böttcher, § 975 D, express themselves similarly—the former remarking further that the use of the perfect rests originally upon a 'play of the imagination,' in virtue of which an action when brought into relation with a preceding occurrence as its *consequence*, from the character of inevitability which it then assumes, is contemplated as actually completed. To this we must add, however, that the consciousness of this relation is to be conceived as essentially dependent upon *union* with *waw*, of which union the change of tone (where not hindered from taking place by external or accidental causes) is the inseparable criterion and accompaniment: dissolve this union, and the sense of any special relationship immediately vanishes. In fact, the *waw* possesses really in this connexion a demonstrative significance, being equivalent to *then* or *so*[1]: in this capacity, by a pointed reference to

[1] This is no imaginary meaning, invented for the purpose of overcoming a difficulty, but one which actually, and constantly, occurs; cf. 'in the day that ye eat thereof ונפקחו *then* (Germ. *so*) are your eyes opened;' and see also the numerous passages cited, §§ 123–129.

some preceding verb, it *limits* the possible realization of the action introduced by it to those instances in which it can be treated as a direct consequence of the event thus referred to. And we may conjecture that the emphatic alteration of tone is designed to mark this limitation: the changed pronunciation *w'qáṭaltí*, *w'qáṭaltâ* seems to cry *There!* to attract the hearer's attention, and warn him against construing what is said in an absolute and unqualified sense, to direct him rather to some particular locality, some previously marked spot, where, and where alone, the assertion may be found verified. An action described by this construction is regarded, it is true, as completed, but *only with reference to the preceding verb*, only so far as the preceding action necessitates or permits. נָפַלְתָּ means unreservedly and unconditionally *thou hast fallen:* וְנָפַלְתָּ means '*so* hast thou fallen,' '*so*,' namely, confining the possible occurrence of the event to a particular area previously implied or defined[1]. Whatever, therefore, be the shade of meaning borne by the first or '*dominant*' verb, the perfect following, inasmuch as the action it denotes is conceived to take place under the *same* conditions, assumes it too: be the dominant verb a jussive, frequentative, or subjunctive, the perfect is virtually the same. To all intents and purposes the perfect, when attached to a preceding verb by means of this waw consecutive, *loses its individuality:* no longer maintaining an independent position, it passes under the sway of the verb to which it is connected[2].

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[1] Steinthal (*Characteristik*, p. 262) speaks of this alteration of tone as *eine höchst sinnige Verwendung des Accents:* he himself, observing that it throws a new emphasis on the person-ending, considers that its effect is to render prominent the personal aspect of the action, to limit it, in other words, by representing it as subjective or conditioned. It seems a fatal objection to Mr. Turner's view (p. 402), that the change of tone never takes place with the prophetic perf., though its 'position and significance' may even be more emphatic than that of the pf. with ו.

[2] This peculiarity may sometimes be imitated in English by linking

109. But upon what ground, it will be asked, can the marked avoidance of וְ in all such cases be accounted for? What is there to deter the Hebrew from saying, 'lest he come *and go on* to smite me?' The fact is, וְ was so appropriated by the universal custom of the language to the description of actual fact, that a sense of incongruity and anomaly would have arisen had it been adopted also on occasions where the events spoken of were merely *contingent*. Moreover, it must have been felt that with an action in itself only *incipient* or nascent, any idea of *continuation* or development was out of place: where the series is begun by a form which, like the imperfect, denotes essentially an act that is inchoate or incomplete, all possibility of free and unconditional progress (such as is expressed by וְ) is at once obviously checked: the only kind of *ulterior advance* imaginable under the circumstances is that which may ensue when the now indeterminate and incomplete act is *determined and completed*. After בָּא, וַיַּכֵּנִי denotes a subsequent act without any kind of reserve or limitation, בא ויכני *he came and smote me:* after יָבֹא, nothing thus *unconditionally* subsequent can find place because יבא itself is inchoate and incomplete; nothing therefore definite can be annexed to יבא, *until it has matured into* בָּא. Still, upon the hypothesis that it has matured, further eventualities may be conceived: and so we find יבא followed by וְהִכַּנִי, where the *perfect* tense implies that the eventuality has occurred, while the *waw* limits its occurrence to such occasions as fall within the scope of the preceding dominant verb. Accordingly we get איך, למה, אולי, אם, למען, פן יבא והכני 'lest, that, if, he come—*then* or *so* (i. e. upon the supposition that the first statement is realized)—*has* or (as our idiom would prefer on account

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together as infinitives under the same auxiliary (instead of repeating the latter with each different verb) the perfects connected in the original by means of *waw*.

of the *condition* implied) *had he smitten me'*='lest he come *and smite me:*' 'perhaps he may come—*and then has he* or *had he smitten me'*='perhaps he may come *and smite me:*' 'why, how should he come—*τότε ἐπάταξεν ἂν ἐμέ*[1], so hätte er mich geschlagen, *then had he smitten me'*='why, how should he come *and smite me?*' יבא והכני 'he was liable or likely to come, would or used to come—*and then* (whenever this actually happened) *he has* or *had* smitten me'='he would come *and smite me.*' Should it be objected to such an explanation that it presupposes a crude and constrained mode of expression, incompatible with the ease and freedom with which the construction in question is actually employed, it may be replied that the primitive form of many of the Aryan moods and tenses was even rougher in structure; and although the adaptation of such forms as instruments of thought is doubtless facilitated by phonetic decay obliterating the separate traces of their ultimate elements, it is not dependent upon it altogether. When a compound phrase or formula is analysed, we are often surprised to discover the circuitous path by which expression has been given to an apparently simple idea; the mind, however, treats the phrase as a whole, and does not, on every occasion of its use, pass consciously through the individual steps by which its meaning has been acquired.

And now we may be able to discern a reason why the Hebrew could say פן יבא והכני, but never פן יבא ואתי הכה: in the former case, the relative nature of הכני and its dependency upon יבא is patent from the intimate union with ו; but in the latter case, on account of the isolated position taken by it, הכה seems to be stated absolutely, to have no *special* reference to any other fact. It is in order to preserve a keen sense of the subordination thus essential to the meaning of the construction that the connexion with what precedes

[1] Cf. with the stronger אן, 2 Ki. 13, 19.

is so jealously guarded: the moment this connexion is broken, the verb lapses into the imperfect, which is, of course, under the same government as the dominant verb, and indeed co-ordinate with it.

Obs. The preceding remarks will make it plain in what manner the *waw* in this construction can be spoken of as the '*waw* relativum,' and the idiom as a whole as the 'relatively-progressive perfect.' A question, however, here arises, analogous to the one discussed § 85 *Obs.*, whether, namely, the perfect may not be occasionally preserved after its separation from *waw*, or even when the waw has been entirely dropped. The vast number of instances, occurring under every conceivable variety of circumstance, in which the verb, after separation, appears as an *imperfect*, furnishes a strong argument against supposing this to be possible: though an opposite view is expressed by Ewald, § 346[b], by Böttcher, ii. p. 205, and by Hitzig (on Job 5, 9), who cite passages in support of their opinion. These alleged instances, when examined, resolve themselves either into cases of the proph. perfect, or into cases where an obvious change of construction has supervened: in fact, with two or three exceptions, they have been already explained above, § 14 γ. The perfect, standing by itself, or preceded by כי, § 14 α, β, is used of the future precisely as in the passages alleged; now it is impossible to explain the two former cases by supposing waw to have been dropped, for the simple reason that *it could never have been present:* if, therefore, the perfects in § 14 α, β, can be accounted for without having recourse to an imaginary waw consecutive, no necessity can exist for having recourse to it in order to account for the perfect in § 14 γ. The question is to a certain extent one of *degree:* the force of the tense is undoubtedly *limited* both in the proph. perf. and after waw consecutive; but in the one case it is the intelligence of the reader, aided only by the context, that *determines* the limitation, and *localizes* the action in the future; in the other case this function is performed by the connecting particle alone. It is thus the context that fixes the meaning of חשך Isa. 5, 30, or הדה 11, 8, no less than that of גלה 5, 13, or מלאה 11, 9. It would take too long to examine the other instances in detail; it is at least suspicious that more numerous and clearer cases do not occur of the bare perfect after למען, אם, כי, etc. Naturally, it cannot be seriously maintained that הסיר התז 'stands for' יסיר והתז; while, as to Prov. 9, *vv.* 4 and 16 are different; *v.* 4 is to be explained by § 12 (cf. the pff. *vv.* 1–3), *v.* 16 by § 123 α.

110. But before analysing the construction in its syntactical aspect, we must first of all state the laws which regulate

the *change of tone* previously alluded to. Many forms of the perfect, as קָטְלוּ, אֲמַרְתֶּם, רָעוּ (from רָעָה), שָׁתָה (*he drank*, not שָׁתָה 3 *fem.* from שִׁית) etc., are already *milra'*, and with such, of course, no change is possible: in other cases the general rule is that where the perfect is preceded by waw consecutive, *the tone is thrown forward on to the ultima.* But to this law there is a considerable list of exceptions: it will be seen, however, that for the most part they fall into three or four broad groups which can be recollected without difficulty.

Including, for the sake of completeness, the two rules established in the last chapter, we get the following:—

The tone is *not* thrown forward

(1) Generally, though not quite uniformly (see Dt. 21, 11. 23, 14. 24, 19), when the perfect is immediately followed, without any break in the sense (i.e. without a *distinctive* accent), by a tone-syllable in the succeeding word.

(2) When the perfect is *in pause*—almost invariably with the greater distinctives, and sometimes also with those of smaller value. Of these two rules no further illustrations will be needed.

Obs. So far as the *regular* verb is concerned, the tone is *uniformly* thrown on in the 1st and 2nd sing., except in the cases covered by these two rules. In 1 Sa. 17, 35. Job 7, 4^{b} (assuming the verbs to be frequentative) the accentuation וְהִצַּלְתִּי, וְשִׁבַּעְתִּי appears to have arisen from a misconception: the preceding verbs וְיִצֵּאתִי, וּמָדַד were really frequentative, but, there being no change of tone (see rule 4) to mark this fact, it was forgotten, and then the perfects following were subjoined by means of simple *waw* according to § 132.

(3) In 1 *plur.* of all the modifications, and in 3 *fem. sing.* and 3 *plur.* of Hif'il. Thus Gen. 34, 17 וְלָקַחְנוּ. Ex. 8, 23 וְזָבַחְנוּ: Lev. 26, 22 וְהִכְרִיתָה. Amos 9, 13 וְהִפִּיפוּ. Ezck. 11, 18 וְהֵסִירוּ. It is also naturally not thrown on in 2 *fem. sing.* of verbs with a guttural as their third radical, as וַיְדַעַתְּ Hos. 2, 22.

Obs. Twice in Hif'il the general rule is observed: Ex. 26, 33 והבדילה. Lev. 15, 29 והביאה.

(4) In the *Qal* of verbs ל״א and ל״ה, as Gen. 7, 4 וּמָחִיתִי. 17, 4 וְהָיִיתָ. 19 וְקָרָאתָ. 18, 26 וְנָשָׂאתִי.

Obs. If the list in Böttcher, ii. 204, is complete, besides ובאתּ (and this only before a guttural) there are but two instances of Qal *milraʿ* after ו, viz. Lev. 24, 25. 2 Sa. 15, 33[1] (both gutt.). But in the other modifications the tone is, in the majority of instances, thrown on according to rule, as Ex. 25, 11. Lev. 26, 9 etc.; although a few exceptions are found, cf. Dt. 4, 19. 11, 10. 28, 12. Job 15, 13 al.

(5) Often in those forms of the *Qal* and *Nifʿal* in verbs ע״ע and ע״ו which end in וּ- or וָה, as Ex. 7, 28 וּבָאוּ. Isa. 6, 13 וְשֻׁבָה. 11, 13 וְסָרָה. 34, 3 וְנָמַסּוּ. 35, 10 וְנָסוּ: but the usage here is very fluctuating, as many of these verbs also occur *milraʿ*; see Ex. 8, 7 וְסָרוּ. 23, 29 וְרַבָּה. Isa. 11, 14 וְעָפוּ. 23, 17 וְשָׁבָה etc.

Obs. In the other forms the general rule is adhered to, as Gen. 28, 21 וְשַׁבְתִּי. Dt. 4, 30 וְשַׁבְתָּ. Ps. 89, 24 וְנַחְתּוֹתִי. Ex. 23, 25 והסרתי. Ezek. 16, 42 והנחתי. Nu. 14, 15 וְהֵמַתָּה etc. Exceptions (unless when occasioned in accordance with rules 1 or 2, as Gen. 19, 19[b]. Ex. 33, 14) are extremely rare: 1 Ki. 2, 31. Jer. 10, 18[2]. Amos 1, 8[2] being probably all that exist.

111. It has been already remarked that the peculiar position occupied by the perfect, when thus annexed by ו, as regards the dominant or principal verb, causes it virtually to assume the particular modal phase belonging to the latter. If, for instance, the principal verb involve *will*, *would*, or *let* . . . , the subordinate verbs connected with it by וְ consecu-

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[1] He cites indeed 1 Sa. 10, 2. Jer. 2, 2. 3, 12 as well: but there is no reason for supposing that in these verses the perfects are *milraʿ*. There is no metheg in the antepenultima, and Böttcher seems to have been inadvertently misled by the *postpositive* accent *small telisha;* see Isa. 62, 4. 66, 20.

[2] In these two passages the *milʿel* tone is attested by the Massorah: but Zeph. 1, 17 (cited in my first edition), the correct reading (as noted also by Kimchi, ad loc.) has the tone *milraʿ*: see Baer's *Liber xii Prophetarum* (1878), pp. iv, 79.

tive must be understood in the same tense or mood; in other words, as governed by the same auxiliary: 2 Ki. 5, 11 I said יֵצֵא וְעָמַד וְקָרָא he *will* (or *would*, if in oratio obliqua) come out and stand and call: the writer might, had he chosen, have repeated the impf. יצא ויעמד ויקרא he would come out, and would stand, and would call: this would have been somewhat more emphatic, and greater stress would have been laid on the precise manner in which each individual action was conceived: but, writing in prose, he adopts the shorter and more flowing mode of expression. Now where—as is continually the case in Hebrew—there is a *change of person* between the first and any of the following verbs, we shall find it in English awkward, if not impossible, to adopt such a succinct method of translation: either the auxiliary will have to be repeated each time the person changes, or, since the perfect in the original really indicates a result or consequence (but not the *design*, § 61) of the action denoted by the principal verb, we may even employ *that* with the subjunctive. Gen. 24, 7 may HE send his angel before thee וְלָקַחְתָּ *and mayest* thou take (or, *that* thou mayest take) a wife for my son from there. 18, 25 far be it from thee . . . לְהָמִית to slay the righteous with the wicked וְהָיָה *and for* the righteous *to be* (see § 118) as the wicked (or, *that so* the righteous *should* be as the wicked: more neatly in Latin, Absit a te *ut occidas* justum cum iniquo, *fiatque* justus sicut impius). Jer. 48, 26 make him drunk . . . וְסָפַק and *let* Moab vomit (or, *that* Moab may vomit).

112. We may now proceed to analyse the mode in which this idiom is employed.

The perfect with ו consec. appears as the continuation of

(i) the imperative.

Gen. 6, 14 make thee an ark וְכָפַרְתָּ *and pitch* it. 21 וְאַסַפְתָּ. 8, 17 bring them out with thee וְשֵׁרְצוּ *and let* them swarm in the earth.

Here notice 1. the *grammar* alone shews that the *waw* is consecutive: the tone in שרצו is already *milra'*, so that no alteration can take place from the accession of ו: we must, however, judge of such cases by the analogy of those in which, under similar syntactical conditions, i. e. in the present case, after an imperative, the change of tone can be observed: this analogy leaves us no doubt that the waw is consecutive here as well. Notice 2. that the dependency of ושרצו upon the imperative is *obscured* in English by the singular weakness of our language, which all but forbids our using a genuine third pers. imperative, except in exalted or poetical style: the interpolation of *let* makes it seem as though *let them swarm* were independent of *bring them out:* whereas in the Hebrew the sense to be given to ושרצו is *wholly determined* by the meaning of the dominant verb, which is here an imperative. In a point like this, either German, Latin, or Greek has the advantage of English.

Ex. 3, 16 go ואספת . . . ואמרת. 7, 15 f. 26 etc. 19, 23. Lev. 24, 14 bring forth him that cursed, וסמכו *and let* all those that heard *lay* their hands upon his head (*educ et ponant*, Vulg.). Nu. 4, 19 this do to them וְחָיוּ *and let* them live וְלֹא יָמוּתוּ (note the *impf.*) *and not die* etc. 1 Sa. 6, 7 f. 15, 3. 2 Sa. 11, 15 set Uriah etc. וְשֻׁבְתֶּם מאחריו וְנִכָּה וָמֵת *and retire* from behind him, *and let him be* smitten and die. 24, 2 go now through all the tribes וְיֵדְעָתִי *and let* me know. Ezek. 20, 20 et sabbata mea sanctificate וְהָיוּ *et sint* signum inter me et vos.

This is by far the most common construction after an imperative: sometimes, however, a succession of imperatives is preferred, and sometimes the perfect and imperative alternate: Gen. 27, 43 f. וְיָשַׁבְתָּ . . . וְקוּם בְּרַח. 45, 9. 1 Sa. 6, 7 f. 2 Ki. 9, 2–3. Pr. 23, 1 f. etc.

113. (ii) After an *imperfect*, in any of its senses: thus—

(1) After the impf. as a pure future:—

Gen. 12, 3^{b}. 18, 18 and Abraham will be a great nation וְנִבְרְכוּ־בוֹ *and* all nations of the earth *will be* blessed in him. 40, 13 he will lift up thy head וְהֵשִׁיבְךָ *and restore* thee to thy place, וְנָתַתָּ *and thou wilt give* etc. Jud. 6, 16 I shall be with thee וְהִכִּיתָ *and* thou *wilt* smite Midian (or, *will* and *shalt*).

1 Sa. 2, 35 f. 8, 11. 18. 17, 32 thy servant will go וְנִלְחַם *and fight.* 46. Isa. 1, 30 f. 2, 2 f. 13, 11. 14, 1. 2. 4. 60, 5. Jer. 16, 4 etc.; or as expressing a purpose or a command (*I will, thou shalt*), Gen. 17, 16 וּבֵרַכְתִּי. 24, 4. 32, 21. Ex. 8, 23. 20, 9 etc.

Constantly, also, after other words pointing to the future, as a *participle*, Gen. 6, 17 f. and behold, I am bringing the deluge upon the earth והקמתי *and will* establish etc. 48, 4 behold, I am making thee fruitful והרביתך *and will* multiply thee . . . וְנָתַתִּי[1] *and give* this land etc. Isa. 7, 14 *and will call* his name 'Immanu'el. 8, 7 f. 13, 19. 19, 1 ff. Jer. 30, 22. 37, 7 f. וְשָׁבוּ. Hosea 2, 8. 16 f. Amos 2, 14 ואבד. 6, 14 etc.; or an *infin. absolute*, as Gen. 17, 11. Isa. 5, 5. 31, 5. Ezek. 23, 47.

And after the *prophetic perfect*, the announcement *opening* generally with the proph. perf., which is then followed by the perfect with *waw consec.*: thus Gen. 17, 20 I have blessed him וְהִפְרֵיתִי and I *will* make him fruitful. Nu. 24, 17 a star *hath proceeded* out of Jacob, וקם *and* a sceptre *shall* arise out of Israel. Isa. 2, 11 ונשגב (cf. *vv.* 12–17). 5, 14b. 43, 14 שִׁלַּחְתִּי I send to Babel וְהוֹרַדְתִּי *and will bring down* etc. 48, 15. 52, 10 Yahweh hath laid bare his holy arm, וראו and all the ends of the earth *shall see* etc. Jer. 13, 26. 48, 41.

(2) After the impf. as a jussive or cohortative:—

(*a*) Gen. 1, 14 יְהִי let there be lights וְהָיוּ *and let them be* . . . 28, 3. 43, 14 ושלח. 47, 29 f. bury me not in Egypt ושכבתי *but let* me lie with my fathers. Ex. 5, 7 הם ילכו *let* THEM go וקששו *and gather* themselves straw. 34, 9. Dt. 28, 8. 1 Sa. 12, 20. 24, 13 *let* Yahweh judge וְיִנָּקְמֵנִי *and* avenge me! 1 Ki.

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[1] The two accents on this word must not be confused with the double *pashṭa* on words *mil'el*, § 91: the first accent is a conjunctive termed *Qadma*, which is here used in place of metheg to mark the counter-tone (p. 102, *n.* 1). Cf. Ewald, § 97g.

1, 2. 8, 28 (after 26). 22, 12 (ironical) *and* Yahweh give it into thy hands! Ps. 64, 11. 109, 10. 143, 12 והאבדת.

(β) Gen. 31, 44 come let us make a covenant וְהָיָה *and let* it be etc. Jud. 19, 13 לְךָ וְנִקְרְבָה come and *let* us draw near to one of the places וְנָלִינוּ *and* pass the night in Gibeah. Mic. 4, 6 f. Ruth 2, 7 let me glean, I pray, ואספתי *and gather* etc.

(3) After an impf. denoting *would* or *should*:—Amos 9, 3 f. from there *would* I command the sword וְהָרַגְתִּם *and* it *should* slay them וְשַׂמְתִּי *and I would* etc. Job 8, 6. 9, 17 with a tempest *would* he overwhelm me וְהִרְבָּה *and multiply* my bruises without cause. 31. Jud. 16, 5 (*may*).

(4) Or after the impf. as a frequentative, whether of present or past time, indifferently:—

(a) Gen. 2, 24 therefore doth a man leave his father and mother ודבק *and cleave* to his wife והיו *and they are* one flesh. Ex. 18, 16 when they have a matter coming to me[1], וְשָׁפַטְתִּי then (§ 123) *I decide* between them וְהוֹדַעְתִּי *and declare* etc. Dt. 5, 21 כי ידבר אלהים that God speaketh (or may speak) with man: וָחָי *and he liveth.* Isa. 5, 12 והיו (observe *v.* 12[b] יביטו . . . ו). 27, 10. 44, 15 יַשִּׁיק וְאָפָה kindleth fire *and baketh* bread. Jer. 12, 3[2] thou seest me וּבָחַנְתָּ *and triest* my heart. 20, 9[2] ואמרתי and *I keep saying* 'I will not speak of him' . . . והיה *and then* there comes in my heart as it were a burning fire וְנִלְאֵיתִי *and I am weary* of forbearing etc.[3] Ezek. 29, 7

[1] So the *text* must be rendered (cf. 22, 8): for the apodosis after כי, in the sense of *whenever*, to be introduced by the bare perfect, would be without parallel. If we desire to render *they come to me*, we must read וּבָא.

[2] These two passages (cf. 6, 17. Ex. 18, 16. Amos 4, 7) are important as shewing that the *waw* after a *frequentative* impf. is really consecutive: as it happens, the verb under such circumstances is generally in the *third* person, in which the distinctive change of tone can rarely occur.

[3] A. V. here seems to describe a *single* occurrence, which would have been denoted by וָאֹמַר etc., and conveys no idea of the *repetition* so plainly discernible in the original: R.V. rightly *if* etc.: see § 148.

תרוץ ובקעת (a description of Egypt's *general* character). Hos. 4, 3. 7, 7 יחמו ואכלו (their *reiterated* ebullitions described). Mic. 2, 2 (after יעשוה *v.* 1). Ps. 10, 10 .ישח ונפל 17, 14 יִשְׂבְּעוּ בָנִים they have their fill of children וְהִנִּיחוּ *and leave* etc. 46, 10 ימצו after ואמרו 73, 11 .יאבדו ועזבו 49, 11 .ישבר וקצין *v.* 10. 78, 38 but he is merciful, forgiveth iniquity, and doth not destroy (impff.), וְהִרְבָּה *and is bounteous* to turn his anger away. 90, 6. Pr. 16, 29. 18, 10. 20, 28. 24, 16. 29, 6. Job 5, 5. 14, 11 and a river will (freq.) decay וְיֶבֶשׁ *and dry up*. 33, 18 f. 34, 7 f. So after the exclamatory, impassioned *inf. abs.* (Ew. § 328[b]), Jer. 7, 10.

(β) Gen. 2, 6 a mist *used to* go up וְהִשְׁקָה *and water* the ground. 10. 6, 4. 29, 2 f. an instructive passage: 'three flocks *were lying* there (partcp.), for ישקו they *used* to water flocks from that well,' this is then followed by four pff. freqq. The course of the narrative is resumed only at ויאמר 4: it is clear that *v.* 3 cannot belong to it, for *v.* 8 shews that the stone *had not been* rolled away, so that וגללו describes what *used* to be done. The sudden change of tense—from impf. with וַ to pf. with וְ—is most noticeable, and immediately arrests the attention. Ex. 33, 7–11 יקח ונטה־לו *would* (or used to) *take and pitch it* (contrast this with a passage like 35, 21–29, וַ describing what took place upon only *one* occasion). 34, 34 f. Dt. 11, 10 where תִּזְרַע אֶת־זַרְעֲךָ וְהִשְׁקִיתָ thou *usedst to* sow thy seed, *and water it* with thy foot. 1 Ki. 14, 28 *used to* bear them והשיבום *and bring them* back. 2 Ki. 3, 25 יהרסו ו . . . ישליכו ומלאוה (a graphic picture of the way in which the people occupied themselves during their sojourn in Moab). 12, 15–17. Job 31, 29 if I *used to* rejoice . . . וְהִתְעוֹרַרְתִּי (tone as Ps. 28, 1, § 104) *and elate* myself. Ez. 44, 12[1].

After a partcp.:—Isa. 6, 2 f. were standing וקרא *and each kept* crying. Pr. 9, 14 וישבה *and keeps* sitting (after הומיה, *v.* 13).

And an inf. abs.:—2 Sa. 12, 16 וַיָּצֻם צוֹם וּבֹא וְלָן וְשָׁכַב and he fasted on, *repeatedly* (during the seven days, *v.* 18) going

[1] The correction in Stade, *ZATW.* 1885, p. 293, is gratuitous.

in, and passing the night (there), and lying on the earth. 13, 19. Jos. 6, 13 הלכים הלוך ותקעו (contrast 1 Sa. 19, 23. 2 Sa. 16, 13 וְ·). Jer. 23, 14.

114. Sometimes after a fact has been stated summarily by a perfect, we find this tense succeeded by perfects with וְ *consecutive*, as though to remind the reader of the real character of what is described: that in such cases the *waw* is consecutive, and not merely conjunctive (Chap. IX), is often shewn by the proximity of an *imperfect*, the frequentative sense of which is unmistakeable. At other times, on the other hand, when the frequentative nature of the events described has been sufficiently indicated, the writer, feeling that this circumstance does not call for *continual* prominence, reverts to the ordinary form of prose narrative, as carried on by וַ·.

Thus (*a*) Nu. 11, 8 שטו ולקטו (observe the impf. יֵרֵד *v.* 9). Amos 4, 7 וְהִמְטַרְתִּי . . . מָטָר (a noticeable passage on account of the clear change of tone: observe, too, the following impff.). 2 Ki. 6, 10. 2 Chr. 12, 11 ונשאום . . . באו.

(*β*) Jud. 12, 5 והיה כי יאמרו and it used to be whenever they said . . . וַיֹּאמְרוּ that they replied etc. 1 Sa. 2, 16ª. 13, 22ᵇ (cf. the impf. *v.* 19). 14, 52. 2 Sa. 15, 2. Jer. 6, 17 והקמתי . . . ויאמרו (§ 120). 18, 4. Ps. 78, 40 f. Job 1, 4 f.

The same transition occurs also after the imperfect itself:—Isa. 44, 12. Ps. 106, 43 יִמְרוּ . . . וַיָּמֹכּוּ. Job 3, 24. 5, 15 f. 7, 18 yea, thou *visitest* him (even with לבקרים). 11, 3. 12, 25. 14, 10. 21, 14 (Ps. 73, 11 ואמרו). 31, 27 (contrast *v.* 29 quoted § 113) etc.

Obs. In some of these cases the וַ· introduces the definite act which terminates a scene previously described, or the settled state which succeeds or accompanies the reiterated actions: so Jud. 6, 5. Ps. 78, 35: cf. 99, 7. Pr. 7, 13ᵇ (in 13ª the pff. are frequentative). Nu. 9, 23ᵇ. 2 Chr. 33, 6ᵇ. Comp. Böttcher, ii. 216.

115. The perfect with *waw consecutive* is further found where the imperfect is preceded by various particles: as

אוּלַי *perhaps:* Gen. 27, 12 *perhaps* my father will feel me וְהָיִיתִי and I shall be . . . וְהֵבֵאתִי *and* I *shall* bring upon myself a curse. Nu. 22, 11 after אוכל (in *v.* 6 the *impf.*). 23, 27. 2 Sa. 16, 12. 2 Ki. 19. 4.

אוֹ *or if:* 1 Sa. 26, 10 *or if* his day should come וָמֵת *and* he *die*. Ez. 14, 17. 19.

אָז *then:* 1 Sa. 6, 3 *then* will ye be healed וְנוֹדַע לָכֶם *and* it *will be known* to you etc. Ps. 19, 14 (tone, § 104).

אֵיךְ *how?* Gen. 39, 9 *how* can I do this great evil וְחָטָאתִי *and sin* against God? 2 Sa. 12, 18 *how* shall we say to him, The child is dead, ועשה (translating freely to shew the connexion) *and so* make him vex himself? So אֵיכָכָה Esth. 8, 6 (with אוכל).

אַל: Jer. 17, 21 *do not* bear any burden on the sabbath-day וַהֲבֵאתֶם *and bring* it etc. Ps. 143, 7 *do not* hide thy face from me וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי *and let me be* like them that go down into the pit (tone as in the parallel Ps. 28, 1, after פן)[1].

אִם *if:* Gen. 28, 20 f. 32, 9 *if* 'Esau comes to one camp וְהִכָּהוּ *and smites* it. Dt. 8, 19. 11, 28 וְכָרַתֶּם. 20, 11 וּפָתְחָה. Jud. 4, 20 וְשָׁאֲלֵךְ וְאָמַר. 14, 12 וּמְצָאתֶם. 1 Sa. 12, 14. 15. 17, 9; and so constantly: see §§ 136, 138.

Similarly after אִם in an oath: Gen. 24, 38. Ez. 20, 33 f. as I live, if I will not . . . reign over you וְהוֹצֵאתִי and bring you forth from the peoples, וְקִבַּצְתִּי and gather you!

אֲשֶׁר = *so that:* Dt. 2, 25. 4, 6 *so that* they will hear ואמרו *and say* (cf. *v.* 10 ילמדון . . . ו).

= *when:* Lev. 4, 22 when a ruler יחטא ועשה sinneth *and doth* etc. (not *hath sinned*, A.V.). Nu. 5, 29 ונטמאה.

= *who so* (the person indicated being essentially indefinite ὅστις or ὃς ἐάν with subj.: this construction of אשר is quite distinct from another which will be immediately noticed):

[1] The second verb separated from ו, and accordingly in the impf. Ps. 38, 2; ἀσυνδέτως, 35, 19. 75, 6. 1 Sa. 2, 3.

Gen. 24, 14 the girl *to whom* אֹמַר I may say, Let down thy pitcher, ואמרה *and she reply*, Drink (puella cui ego dixero . . . et illa responderit—the girl, whoever she may be, in whom these two conditions are fulfilled). 43 (where the tone of וְאָמְרָה proves, if proof were needed, that וְאָמְרָה in 14 has וְ *consecutive*). Lev. 21, 10. Jud. 1, 12 LXX rightly ὃς ἂν πατάξῃ καὶ προκαταλάβηται. 1 Sa. 17, 26. Isa. 56, 4 אשר ישמרו ובחרו, LXX ὅσοι ἂν φυλάξωνται καὶ ἐκλέξωνται. Jer. 17, 5. 7. 27, 11 τὸ ἔθνος ὃ ἐὰν εἰσαγάγῃ . . . καὶ ἐργάσηται αὐτῷ. Ps. 137, 9 (שֶׁ·).

Lev. 18, 5 which a man *may* do וָחַי *and live* in them, or since, in the double statement enunciated, the occurrence of the second is so linked to that of the first as to be dependent upon it (cf. § 147), 'which *if* a man do, he *may* (or *shall*) live in them.' Ez. 20, 11. 13. Neh. 9, 29. Dt. 19, 4. Isa. 29, 11 f. 36, 6.

Obs. There is, however, another construction of אשר followed by the *perfect*, or by the impf. and then וַ·, which must not be confused with that just explained. There the writer had an indefinite contingency in view: here he contemplates a distinct occurrence[1]: compare, with the perfect alone, Lev. 7, 8 the skin of the burnt sacrifice which הִקְרִיב he *hath* offered (in the case assumed). Thus we find Dt. 17, 2–4 a man who יעשה doeth evil וַיֵּלֶךְ *and goeth* and serveth other gods, וְהֻגַּד *and it be* told thee etc.; or the two constructions united, as Lev. 15, 11 every one whom the זב touches (יגע), and who לא שטף *has* not (or shall not have, in the assumed case) drenched his hands with water. 17, 3 f. whoso slays an ox . . . and לא הביאו *hath* not brought it etc. (*v.* 9 we find the impf. and *doth* not bring it: Onqelos אַיְתֵיהּ, יַיתִינֵיהּ, and the Peshito ܐܝܬܝܗ, ܢܝܬܝܘܗܝ retain the difference of tense, which the other versions fail to reproduce). 9, 13 (לא היה and וחדל). Ez. 18, 6 (*hath not* eaten, *never* draws near).

הֲ *interrogativum:* Ex. 2, 7 *shall I* go וְקָרָאתִי *and call?* Nu. 11, 22 *shall* flocks be slain for them ומצא *and it be*

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[1] Cf. the similar case of אם Nu. 5, 27 etc. if she *have* made herself unclean, וַתִּמְעֹל *and played* false: see below, § 138 *Obs.*

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enough for them? (with change of subject: LXX μὴ σφαγήσονται . . . καὶ ἀρκέσει;) Jud. 15, 18 *shall I* die of thirst וְנִפְלֶתִּי *and fall* into the hand of the uncircumcised? 1 Sa. 23, 2. Ruth 1, 11 *have I* still sons in my womb וְהָיוּ *and will* they be (=for them to be) to you for husbands? 1 Chr. 14, 10.

Obs. After the 'modal' perfect (§ 19. 2), Jud. 9, 9. 11. 13 am I to have ended my fatness וְהָלַכְתִּי *and go?* So 1 Sa. 26, 9 כִּי מִי שָׁלַח יָדוֹ בִּמְשִׁיחַ יי׳ וְנָקָה for who *is to have* put forth (=*can* put forth) his hand against Yahweh's anointed *and be guiltless?* (entirely different from Dt. 5, 23 מִי . . . אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע . . . וַיֶּחִי: =who *ever* heard . . . *and lived?* cf. the remark in § 19. 2.)

הֲלֹא: 2 Sa. 4, 10 *shall I not* seek his blood from your hand וּבִעַרְתִּי *and sweep* you from the earth? 2 Ki. 5, 12 *shall I not* wash in them וְטָהַרְתִּי *and be clean?* Ez. 38, 14 f. Amos 8, 8. Pr. 24, 12.

הֵן=*if:* Jer. 3, 1 if a man divorces his wife והלכה *and she goes* etc. Hag. 2, 12[1].

טֶרֶם or בְּטֶרֶם *ere that:* Jer. 13, 16.

כַּאֲשֶׁר *as when:* Dt. 22, 26 as when a man קָם rises up against his neighbour וְרָצָחוֹ *and smites* him mortally. Isa. 29, 8. 65, 8. Amos 5, 19 as when a man flees before the lion וּפָגָעוֹ *and* the bear *meets* him.

כִּי=*that:* Gen. 37, 26 what gain כִּי נַהֲרֹג that we should slay our brother וְכִסִּינוּ *and conceal* his blood? 1 Sa. 29, 8 what have I done . . . that I am not to go וְנִלְחַמְתִּי *and fight?* (tone as § 104.) Job 15, 13 why doth thy heart carry thee away . . . that thou shouldst turn thine anger against God וְהוֹצֵאתָ *and so utter* words out of thy mouth? (tone, § 110. 4 *Obs.*) Cf. Neh. 6, 11.

=*when:* Ex. 21, 20 when a man smites his servant וָמֵת *and he dies.* Dt. 4, 25. 6, 10 f. when Yahweh bringeth thee

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[1] For the position of הֵן before the apodosis, cf. Gen. 18, 24. 28. 24, 5 after אולי; Job 14, 14 after אם; 2 Ki. 7, 2. Ez. 17, 10 after הנה.

into the land . . . : וְאָכַלְתָּ וְשָׂבַעְתָּ *and thou eatest and art satisfied*, take care etc. 12, 20. 29. 17, 14: and so constantly.

כִּי אִם = *surely:* 1 Ki. 20, 6 surely I will send my servants וְחִפְּשׂוּ. (2 Sa. 15, 21 Kt. followed by a single verb only.)

Obs. After a perfect (according to § 14α), 2 Ki. 5, 20 כי אם־רצתי ולקחתי surely I will run *and get* something from him! Jer. 51, 14 (Ges. Hitz. Graf, RV.): cf. Jud. 15, 7, where after a perfect similarly placed we have ואחר אחדל: had not אחר intervened, this would have been וחדלתי.

לֹא or בַּל *not* (the negative not being repeated, but its influence extending *over two clauses:* Ges.-Kautzsch, § 152. 3): Ex. 28, 43 that they may *not* bear (incur) iniquity וָמֵתוּ *and die.* 33, 20 man *cannot* see me : וָחָי *and live.* Lev. 11, 43b. 19, 12 *not shall you* swear falsely וְחִלַּלְתָּ *and thou* profane the name of God. 29. 22, 9. Nu. 4, 15 they shall not touch what is holy ומתו *and so* die. 20. Dt. 7, 25 ולקחת. 26 *and so* become accursed. 19, 10. 22, 1. 4 והתעלמת. 23, 15. Isa. 14, 21 בל. 28, 28 *not* for ever does he thresh it והמם *and drive* the wheel of his cart over it. 2 Chr. 19, 10 והיה. And with the verb separated from וְ and so in the impf., Lev. 10, 6.

כִּמְעַט *almost:* Gen. 26, 10 (with pf. as first verb) almost had one of the people lain with her וְהֵבֵאתָ *and so thou hadst* brought guilt upon us.

לוּ *if:* Ez. 14, 15 if I were to cause noisome beasts to pass through the land וְשִׁכַּלְתָּהּ *and they were to* make it bereaved, והיתה *and it were to* become desolate.

למה *why?* 2 Ki. 14, 10 (= 2 Chr. 25, 19) why wouldst (or *shouldst, wilt*) thou challenge misfortune וְתִפָּל *and fall?* Jer 40, 15 why *should* he smite thee *and* all Israel *be scattered?* Qoh. 5, 5. Dan. 1, 10 אֲשֶׁר לָמָּה יִרְאֶה . . . וְחִיבַּתֶּם for why should he see (= lest[1] he see) your faces sad . . ., *and ye inculpate* my head to the king.

[1] See the writer's note on 1 Sa. 19, 17.

Obs. The impf. after למה *may* be frequentative, as 1 Sa. 2, 29, in which case it can be followed by ־בְ, § 114 (*β*).

לְמַעַן *in order that:* Gen. 12, 13 *that* it may be well with me וְחָיְתָה *and* my soul may live because of thee. 18, 19. Ex. 10, 2. Dt. 5, 30 וְטוֹב. 6, 18 that it may be well with thee וּבָאתָ וְיָרַשְׁתָּ *and that thou mayest* go and inherit the good land. 13, 18. 16, 20. 22, 7. Isa. 28, 13 למען ילכו וכשלו אחור ונשברו ונוקשו ונלכדו. 66, 11 and often.

מִי with impf. expressing a *wish:* 2 Sa. 15, 4 O that some one would make me judge, ועלי יבא that to me might come every one who . . . (where if עלי were not intended to be emphatic, we should have had וּבָא עלי) וְהִצְדַּקְתִּיו *and I would* give him justice! Dt. 5, 26 O that this their heart might be theirs always! (lit. 'who will grant והיה *and so* this their heart *had been*[1].')

מִי יוֹדֵעַ = *perhaps:* 2 Sa. 12, 22 Qri (Kt. יחנני, impf. as Joel 2, 14. Jon. 3, 9).

מָתַי *when?* Ps. 41, 6 when will he die וְאָבַד *and* his name *perish?*

עַד or עַד אֲשֶׁר *until:* Ex. 23, 30 until thou multiply וְנָחַלְתָּ *and inherit* the land. Nu. 11, 20 והיה. Isa. 32, 15 עַד יֵעָרֶה וְהָיָה . . . וְיָשַׁב Hos. 5, 15. Mic. 7, 9. Qoh. 12, 1. 2. Neh. 4, 5: עַד שֶׁ· Ct. 2, 17. 4, 6.

Obs. So when the verb after עד is a perfect (§ 17), Isa. 6, 11 f.

Similarly in the other construction of עד with an infinitive, Gen. 27, 45. Jud. 6, 18 עַד בֹּאִי וְהוֹצֵאתִי; or a substantive, 1 Sa. 14, 24 until (it be) evening וְנִקַּמְתִּי *and I avenge* myself: this passage shews how Lev. 11, 32. 17, 15 should be understood ('till the evening (come) and it be clean'). 2 Ki. 18,

[1] Elsewhere מִי יִתֵּן is construed with the bare impf. Job 6, 8 תָּבוֹא. 13, 5. 14, 13; with the impf. and וְ 19, 23 וְיִכָּתְבוּן; with the pf. 23, 3 יָדַעְתִּי; usually with the inf. 11, 5. Ex. 16, 3 al.

32. Isa. 5, 8 until there is no more room וְהוּשַׁבְתֶּם *and ye are made to* dwell by yourselves in the midst of the land.

Obs. In a few passages a rather singular usage is found after עַד, Jud. 16, 2 saying עַד אוֹר הַבֹּקֶר וְהָרַגְנוּהוּ till the morning dawns and *we kill* him. Jos. 1, 15. 6, 10 till the day when I say to you, Shout, וַהֲרִיעוֹתֶם *and ye shout* (cf. Esth. 4, 11 וְחָיָה). Gen. 29, 8. 1 Sa. 1, 22 for she said, Till the lad be weaned *and I bring him* etc. 2 Sa. 10, 5 (=1 Chr. 19, 5) tarry in Jericho till your beards grow וְשׁוּבוּ *and ye return.* Dan. 8, 14. Is the perfect in these cases to be considered as under the government of the infinitive or imperfect after עַד (as I have translated), or as under that of a preceding verb implied or expressed, thus '(*wait*) till the day when I say, Shout, *and then* shout,' '*tarry* till etc. *and then* return?' The general structure of the sentence seems to favour the former supposition, and, if the latter were true, we might expect אַחַר added, as Jos. 2, 16. Compare Hdt. iii. 181. 5 ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεταί τε ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ τὸ ὑδὼρ γίνεται χλιαρόν· where the determining moment and the determined event are similarly made co-ordinate, but where in English (disregarding the τε) we should probably exhibit their relation to each other somewhat more explicitly by rendering 'till the sun sets, *and then* the water becomes warm.'

עֵקֶב *in return for:* Dt. 7, 12 as a return for (Onqelos תְּחַלַּף דְּ) your hearkening[1] to these statutes וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם *and observing* them[1].

פֶּן *lest:* Gen. 3, 22. 19, 19 lest some evil cleave to me : וָאָמוּתִי *and I die* (tone as § 110. 2). Ex. 1, 10. 23, 29. 34, 15 f. פֶּן־תִּכְרֹת וְזָנוּ . . . וְאָכַלְתָּ וְלָקַחְתָּ. Dt. 4, 16. 19. 8, 12–17. 15, 9 פֶּן־יִהְיֶה . . . וְרָעָה . . . וְלֹא תִתֵּן לוֹ . . . וְהָיָה . . . וְקָרָא. 2 Sa. 12, 28. Hos. 2, 5. Amos 5, 6. Ps. 28, 1 פֶּן־תֶּחֱשֶׁה וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי lest thou be silent *and I become like* etc. Pr. 30, 9 (for the tone in these two passages, see § 104). 5, 10 ff. וְנָהַמְתָּ . . . וְאָמַרְתָּ etc.[2]

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[1] תשמעון in a frequentative sense: cf. 8, 20.

[2] So Baer: in some texts וְאָמַרְתָּ, the *metheg* being thrown back from the syllable which has the counter-tone on to a preceding *shwa'*: it is then sometimes called *Ga'ya'* געיא i.e. *crying*, from its causing the *shwa'* to be *sounded* rather more audibly than usual. Compare Kalisch, pt. ii. § 10. 3 (*b*); Ewald, § 96^c; Böttcher, i. p. 122; or (exhaustively) Baer, in his papers on metheg in Merx's *Archiv*, 1870, pp. 56, 194.

Obs. After a perfect (§ 41 *Obs.*), 2 Sa. 20, 6 lest he *have gotten* him fenced cities והציל עינינו and *pluck out* our eye. Or should we read ימצא for מצא?

שֶׁ֫ Qoh. 2, 24 שֶׁיֹּאכַל וְשָׁתָה *that he should* eat and drink. 3, 13. 12, 3. Cf. p. 131 (Ps. 137, 9).

116. After all these particles to find the *imperfect repeated* (as Ps. 2, 12 כִּן יאנף וְתאבדו) is very unusual; the following are, I believe, nearly all the instances of such repetition :—

אולי Nu. 22, 6. 1 Ki. 18, 5. Jer. 20, 10. 21, 2. איך 3, 19. אם 31, 36. Job 11, 10. 20, 12 f. 36, 11. 2 Chr. 7, 14. הלא Hab. 2, 6. כי (= *though*) Ps. 49, 19. Lam. 3, 8. לא Job 7, 21. למה Isa. 40, 27. Pr. 5, 20. Job 13, 24. למען Ex. 23, 12. Isa. 41, 20. 43, 10. Ps. 78, 6. מתי Ps. 42, 3. עד Hos. 10, 12. Qoh. 12, 6. Lam. 3, 50 וְיִרְאֶ֫ה. פן Jer. 51, 46. Ps. 2, 12. Pr. 31, 5.

Obs. 1. In several of these examples, a reason may be found for the repetition of the same tense in the fact that the second verb indicates not a progress of thought, as compared with the first, but a parallelism; where a distinct idea follows afterwards, the pf. and וְ *consec.* may then be used, Jer. 26, 3. Ez. 6, 6. Hab. 2, 7. The opposite transition occurs Qoh. 12, 4^{b}–5^{a}, perhaps, the sentence being a long one, to give it fresh strength.

Obs. 2. Whenever the impf. with וַ appears after any of these particles, it is because some *definite* act is alluded to: see, for instance, Gen. 3, 17 (כי *because*). 12, 19 why didst thou say, She is my sister וָאֶקַּח *and lead* me to take her? (so we may render to avoid the awkward change of person). 31, 27. 1 Sa. 19, 17^{a} (different from 17^{b} למה אמיתך *why should I slay thee?* which would be succeeded by a pf. and וְ). 1 Ki. 10, 7 after ער.

Obs. 3. The usage with regard to פן is not stated with the precision of which it would admit in the note of Dean (now Bishop) Perowne on Ps. 28, 1. The two *regular* types (which are also the same for כי, למען, צר, etc.), alternating merely in accordance with the order of words, are פן יבוא ואמר and פן יבוא ויאמר: פן יבוא ו . . . יאמר is *exceptional*. The only supposed instance of פן יבוא . . . אמר is Ps. 38, 17^{b}; this, however, is clearly an independent statement, in no way under the government of the preceding פן. Comp. § 14 *end*.

117. The reader will be aware (see Ges.-Kautzsch,

§§ 114. 3 Rem. 1; 116. 5 Rem. 7) that it is a common custom with Hebrew writers, after employing a participle or infinitive, to *change the construction*, and, if they wish to subjoin other verbs which logically should be in the partcp. or infin. as well, to pass to the use of the finite verb. Thus Gen. 27, 33 הַצָּד צַיִד וַיָּבֵא ὁ θηρεύσας θήραν καὶ εἰσενέγκας (lit. ὁ θηρεύσας θήραν καὶ εἰσήνεγκε). 39, 18 בַּהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי וָאֶקְרָא LXX ὅτι ὕψωσα τὴν φωνήν μου καὶ ἐβόησα (where, by the alteration of form undergone by the first verb through the use of ὅτι, the change of construction is disguised: elsewhere, by rendering literally, LXX have distorted the real sense of the original, e.g. Ps. 92, 8. 105, 12 f. ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς . . . καὶ διῆλθον). Now, under what circumstances do the partcp. and infin. break off into the *perfect* with וְ, and into the *imperfect* with וַ respectively? The answer to this question will be found to be in strict accordance with what we know already concerning the nature of the two constructions. Wherever the partcp. or infin. asserts something indefinite or undetermined —wherever, therefore, it may be resolved into *whoever*, *whenever*, *if ever* etc. (ὃς ἄν not ὃς, ἐπειδὰν not ἐπειδή etc.)—we find the *perfect* with וְ *consecutive* employed: where, on the contrary, the partcp. or infin. asserts an actual concrete event, we find the following verbs connected with it by the *imperfect* and וַ. Even when the partcp. is used in characterizing a person, or class of persons, the choice of the form which is to follow it is evidently regulated by the same distinction; the one *localizes* the action specified, perhaps embodies an allusion to a definite case, the other leaves it more vague, though at the same time suggesting forcibly its potential, or actual, repetition[1].

Thus, Ex. 21, 12 מַכֵּה אִישׁ וָמֵת the smiter of a man

[1] The difference may be compared to that in Greek between ὁ οὐ . . . and ὁ μὴ . . . with the participle.

(=whoever smites a man), *and he dies.* 16. Nu. 19, 13[1]. Jer. 21, 9 he that goeth out וְנָפַל *and falleth;* and as a frequentative, 22, 14 הָאוֹמֵר . . . וְקָרַע לוֹ חַלּוֹנָיו סְפוֹן[2] בְּאֶרֶז וּמְשׁוֹחַ בַּשָּׁשַׁר׃. Ex. 34, 7[1]. Isa. 5, 23[1]. 44, 25[1]. 26[1] that confirmeth the word of his servant, *and accomplisheth* the counsel of his messengers. Ez. 22, 3. 33, 30. Hab. 2, 12. Ps. 18, 34[1]. 35.

But ·וַ of a *fact*:—Gen. 35, 3 who answered me וַיְהִי *and was* with me. 49, 17[b]. Nu. 22, 11. Isa. 14, 17[3]. 30, 2[3]. 43, 7[3]. Jer. 23, 31 f. Amos 5, 7[3]. 12[3]. 9, 6. Pr. 2, 17[3].

Occasionally, we have וְ with the impf.: 2 Sa. 5, 8 (rendering doubtful). Dan. 12, 12.

Obs. Sometimes the two forms interchange (comp. above, § 35), though each has still its proper force: thus Am. 6, 1[b] ובאו *and* the house of Israel *come* (freq.) to them (so 8, 14 ואמרו), but 3 ye that put far the evil day והגישון, *and have brought near* the seat of violence; 6, 6 which drink with bowls of wine . . . וימשחו *and anoint themselves* (freq.) etc. ולא נחלו but *are not* grieved etc.; comp. similarly 5, 8 (§ 12) and 9 (§ 33); 9, 5 and 6; Isa. 29, 15. 21. Contrast also (though these are somewhat different) Jer. 48, 19 וְנִמְלָטָה *and her that escapeth* (whoever she may be), and Isa. 57, 3 וַתִּזְנֶה *and of her that hath* (in a definite case) played the whore.

118. The distinction will be more conspicuous in the case of the infinitive: Gen. 18, 25 . . . וְהָיָה לָהֲמִית. Ex. 1, 16. 33, 16 בְּלֶכְתְּךָ וְנִפְלִינוּ *in* thy going (=if thou goest) with us *and we are* separated from etc. Dt. 4, 42 . . . לָנֻס שָׁמָּה . . . וָחָי. 30, 16 . . . וְחָיִיתָ לָלֶכֶת. Gen. 27, 45 until thy brother's anger turn וְשָׁכַח *and he forget* etc. 1 Sa. 10, 8. 2 Sa. 13, 28 כְּטוֹב . . . וְאָמַרְתִּי at the moment when Amnon's heart is merry *and I say.* 1 Ki. 2, 37. 42. 8, 33 בְּהִנָּגֵף עַמְּךָ *when*

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[1] The verb separated from וְ, and consequently in the impf.

[2] Read so for חלוני וספון: see the *Variorum Bible*, ad loc.

[3] Perfect, for the same reason.

[4] ונס here is merely *resumptive*, reinforcing the idea conveyed by לנס after the long intermediate clause: cf. 18, 6 ובא. Lev. 17, 5. Jer. 34, 18–20 ונתתי. Zech. 8, 23; והיה Nu. 10, 32. Dt. 20, 11.

thy people are smitten וְשֻׁבוּ *and turn* (a hypothetical case). 35, 6o f. (וְהָיָה . . . לְמַעַן דַּעַת). Ez. 3, 20 *when* he turns וְעָשָׂה *and does* evil. 5, 16 f. 12, 15b. 18, 23. Job 37, 15. Amos 1, 11 because he pursued . . . וְשִׁחֵת and (repeatedly) ruined mercy וַיִּטְרֹף *and so* his anger *goes on* to tear for ever (where the change of tense is noticeable).

Of course, as before, when separated from ו, as often happens, especially in poetry, for the sake of variety, the verb falls into the imperfect tense:—after לְ *that*, Ex. 28, 28. Jos. 20, 9. Isa. 10, 2 לִהְיוֹת וְ . . . יִבְּזוּ. 13, 9. 14, 25. 32, 6. 45, 1. 49, 5. Ps. 105, 22. Pr. 2, 8. 5, 2. 8, 21. Job 33, 17 etc.; after כְּ Isa. 5, 24; בְּ Isa. 30, 26. Pr. 1, 27: and without *waw*, Isa. 64, 1 (ירגזו virtually governed by ל in להודיע). Pr. 2, 2[1].

With these contrast Gen. 39, 18. Lev. 16, 1. Jos. 8, 24 כְּכַלּוֹת . . . וַיִּפְּלוּ. 1 Sa. 24, 12 בְּכָרְתִי . . . וְלֹא תַכְרִית. 1 Ki. 18, 18 in thy forsaking וַתֵּלֶךְ *and going* (definite acts extending into the present). Isa. 47, 10 (ותבטחי after ברב *v.* 9). Ez. 16, 31. 36. 25, 6 al. Ps. 50, 16 what is it to thee לְסַפֵּר *to tell* my statutes וַתִּשָּׂא *and take* my covenant upon thy mouth? (two facts which have actually occurred: not 'that thou *shouldst* take,' וְנָשָׂאתָ). 92, 8. 105, 12 f. etc. Cf. Ez. 36, 18 עַל הַדָּם וְ . . . טִמְּאוּהָ because of the blood *and that* they have defiled her; and Jer. 30, 14 (*ἀσυνδέτως*).

Obs. As before, contrast Ez. 18, 27 ויעש *and has done*, with *v.* 26: comp. § 138. ii. (*α*).

119. But the perfect with *waw consecutive* is also found without being attached to any preceding verb from which to derive its special signification: from constant association with a preceding imperfect it became so completely invested with the properties of the latter that, though not originally belonging to it but only *acquired*, it still continued to retain and exhibit them, even when that in which they had their

[1] Cf., in inferior prose, Ezra 10, 7 f. Neh. 10, 36-9. 2 Chr. 15, 12 f. Dan. 1, 5. Esth. 9, 27 f.

proper seat was no longer itself present. We have already spoken of it as the *companion construction* of the imperfect: it has, in fact, grown so like its partner as to be able to assume its functions and act as its substitute. It may thus occur at the beginning of a sentence or after a verb which, unlike the 'dominant' verb, has no influence in determining the range of its meaning; the force it is then intended to convey must, as in the case of the imperfect, be gathered from the context: for although most commonly, perhaps, possessing the signification of a future, it must often be understood in one of the numerous other senses borne by the many-sided imperfect.

Thus (*a*) Gen. 17, 4. 26, 22 now hath Yahweh made room for us וּפָרִינוּ *and* we *shall* be fruitful in the land. Ex. 6, 6 I am Yahweh; וְהוֹצֵאתִי *and I will bring you out* etc. Nu. 21, 8. Jos. 2, 14 והיה *and it shall* be, when etc. Jud. 13, 3 behold thou art barren and hast not borne; וְהָרִית *but thou shalt* conceive, and bear a son. 1 Sa. 15, 28 and *will* give it. 17, 36. 20, 18. 2 Sa. 7, 9b–10. 1 Ki. 2, 44 *and* Yahweh *will* requite. 9, 3 והיו *and* my eyes and heart *shall* be there. Isa. 2, 2 והיה. 6, 7 see, this hath touched thy lips, וְסָר *and so* thy iniquity *shall pass away*. 30, 3. Ez. 17, 24b אני יי דברתי ועשיתי have spoken, *and I will* perform. 22, 14 al. 23, 31. 30, 6. 10. 34, 11 (cf. Jer. 23, 39). 35, 11. Isa. 56, 5. Hos. 8, 14 ושלחתי. 10, 14. 11, 6. Amos 5, 26[1] (or, at any rate, *v.* 27).

[1] The sense of this much-disputed verse can scarcely be settled by grammatical, apart from exegetical, considerations: the *presumption* afforded by the general usage of the prophets favours the future meaning for ונשאתם, which was already adopted by Rashi: on the other hand, the pf. with simple *waw*, giving a past sense, meets us occasionally unexpectedly, e.g. 7, 2. Ez. 20, 22. Job 16, 12. Still, in these passages, the context precludes misunderstanding, in a way in which it would not do, had the prophet used ונשאתם while intending that sense here. Cf. the note in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* (ed. 2), s.v. AMOS, *ad fin.*

Or to express what is not certain to happen, but is only probable, and so, perhaps, feared:—2 Sa. 14, 7 *and* they *will* quench. Gen. 20, 11 there is no fear of God in this place, וְהָרְגוּנִי *and* they *will* kill me. 34, 30: cf. 1 Ki. 18, 14b.

(β) With the force of a positive command, usually in the second person:—Nu. 4, 4 f. this is the service of the sons of Qŏhāth וּבָא Aaron *shall* come and take down etc. Dt. 18, 3b; 10, 16 וּמַלְתֶּם. 19 ואהבתם *and* or *so* ye *shall* love the stranger. 29, 8 ושמרתם *and ye shall* observe. Jos. 22, 3b (cf. the imper., *v.* 5). 23, 11. 2 Ki. 5, 6 (the following verses shew that the king of Israel understood וַאֲסַפְתִּיו as practically a *command* which could not very conveniently be declined: not, therefore, as 1 Sa. 20, 5). Jer. 7, 27. 29, 26b. Ez. 22, 2 wouldst thou judge, judge the bloody city? וְהוֹדַעְתָּהּ *then declare* unto her all her abominations (cf. the imper. 20, 4. 23, 36). Zech. 1, 3. Mal. 2, 15b. 16b.

(γ) Sometimes it is interrogative:—Ex. 5, 5 וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּם *and*[1] *will ye* stop them[2]? Nu. 16, 10 (ה 9). 1 Sa. 25, 11 ולקחתי *and shall I* take? 2 Ki. 14, 10 (2 Chr. 25, 19). Isa. 66, 9 am I he that causeth to bring forth וְעָצַרְתִּי *and shall* I shut up? (cf. the *impf.* ולא אוליד in 9a: the break in the sense before אמר אלהיך co-operates with the *ṭifcha* to keep the tone back, § 104). Ez. 18, 13 וָחָי. Mal. 1, 2. 2, 14. 17. 3, 7. 8. 13. Ps. 50, 21 ('and shall I keep silence?' Hitz.: tone as

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[1] This use of וְ is completely parallel to the way in which *et* appears in Latin 'to subjoin an emphatic question or exclamation:' the force of וְ Ex. 5, 5. 1 Sa. 25, 11 is just that of *et* Verg. Georg. ii. 433 (*and yet*, after and in spite of 429–432, *do men hesitate?* etc.). Aen. i. 48. vi. 806 etc. Compare further how וְ is employed to introduce an empassioned speech, without anything *expressed* previously to which it can be attached. Nu. 20, כ ולו *And* if we had only perished with our brethren! 2 Sa. 18, 11 והנה. 12. 24, 3. 2 Ki. 1, 10 (but 12 אם alone). 7, 19 (sarcastic: yet cf. 2). So before מי, 1 Sa. 10, 12. 15, 14 (מה). Jud. 9, 29. Nu. 11, 29; and very often before למה or מדוע.

[2] Comp. in separation from ו, the impf., Ez. 33, 25. 26 והארץ תירשו. Jer. 25, 29 ואתם הנקה תנקו. 49, 12.

28, 1 after פֶּן). Job 32, 16[1] ('and shall I wait?' Hitz. Del. Dillm. RV.). 1 Chr. 17, 17 and wilt thou regard me?

(δ) In entreaty or suggestion, as a precative or mild imperative:—Gen. 24, 14 והיה *may* it be that . . . (possibly under the influence of the imperatives, *v.* 12). 47, 23 *sow then.* Dt. 2, 4b ונשמרתם. 4, 15. 7, 9 and often וְיָדַעְתָּ *know then.* 30, 19 behold I set before thee life and death, וּבָחַרְתָּ *so choose* life. Jud. 11, 8 וְהָלַכְתָּ. 1 Sa. 6, 5. 20, 5. 24, 16. 25, 27 ונתנה (see § 123). 1 Ki. 2, 6 וְעָשִׂיתָ *do therefore* according to thy wisdom. 3, 9. 8, 28. Ruth 3, 3. 9 I am Ruth וּפָרַשְׂתָּ *so pray spread* etc.

And with נָא added:—Gen. 40, 14 only[2] if thou rememberest me with thyself, when it is well with thee, וְעָשִׂיתָ־נָּא *then shew*, I pray, mercy etc.; and with the נא thrown back into a preceding protasis (to indicate as early as possible the 'petitionary' character of the speech) in the formula אִם־נָא מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ, Gen. 33, 10 וְלָקַחְתָּ. Jud. 6, 17 (cf. the jussive or imperative alone, Gen. 18, 3. 47, 29. 50, 4. Ex. 33, 13: Gen. 30, 27 the perfect obviously does nothing more than assert a fact).

120. But the most noticeable use of the perfect and *waw*

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[1] והוחלתי *must*, of course, be so taken, if read *milra'*, and *may*, if it be read *mil'el*: see § 104 (p. 113).

[2] A most difficult verse. I know of no justification for the usual rendering of the *bare* pf. וזכרתני as either an imperative, or a 'modal' future (*mögest du* . . .): Ewald, § 356b, appears to regard it as the pf. of certitude, 'but thou shalt remember me' etc. though it is scarcely a case where that use of the pf. would be expected. The natural rendering of אם וזכרתני is *if thou rememberest me* (§ 138): this agrees with what follows, but seems to allow no room for the preceding כי. Might we, on the strength of 23, 13, substitute אך for כי? (so Wellhausen, *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.* 1876, p. 445 = *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 1889, p. 57.) Delitzsch, in his note on the passage, *Genesis* (1887), fails to remove the difficulty of the verse: it is true, when a future tense has preceded, the pf. introduced by כִּי אִם may relate likewise to the future (see 2 Sa. 5, 6): but this will only justify Ewald's rendering '*shalt* remember me,' not '*mayest* thou remember me.'

consecutive, though the one least likely to attract attention, is *as a frequentative*. After the list of instances in § 113. 4 the reader will find no difficulty in recognizing this force in the perfect and *waw* after a preceding dominant imperfect: but where no such imperfect precedes, it will irresistibly occur to him to ask why the *waw* may not be simply copulative instead of consecutive; the more so, inasmuch as owing to the verbs being almost always in the third person, the crucial change of tone cannot take place? Why, he will not unreasonably ask, why should it be asserted that וְשָׁפְטוּ Ex. 18, 26 means *and used to judge*, when the obvious and natural rendering seems to be simply *and judged?* why seek to import a far-fetched and improbable sense into such a plain combination of verb and conjunction?

The answer to such objections will be found in the manner in which the perfect and waw thus appears. In the first place, it does not occur *promiscuously:* it is not intermingled with the construction with וַ in equal proportions, but is commonly found thickly sprinkled *over detached areas* (e. g. 1 Sa. 7, 16). Now when a writer abandons a construction which he employs in nine cases out of ten in favour of another, and that, too, under the peculiar circumstances just described, it is, at least, reasonable to infer that he means *something* by the change. In the second place, our knowledge that the perfect with *waw consecutive* follows the imperfect as a frequentative, coupled with the analogy presented by its use in the last §, raises the suspicion that it may possibly have the same value even when no imperfect precedes. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that it is constantly found *in company with a bare imperfect*, even though not actually preceded by it. In the passage from Fxodus, for example, ושפטו is immediately followed by יביאון and ישפוטו: if, then, these verbs are frequentative (as they clearly are), it is reasonable to infer that ושפטו is so too. It is inconceivable that a coincidence of this sort should be accidental: it is inconceivable that in a

multitude of passages the change from וַ to the perfect and waw (in itself a striking variation) should take place *concurrently with* another change, that, viz. from the perfect (which, as we know, § 85, is the regular alternative for וַ) to the imperfect, without the existence of some common cause accounting for both: but the reason why the imperfect is chosen is patent, it must, therefore, have been the same reason which determined the choice of the perfect and waw. Having once vindicated for this idiom a frequentative force, we shall not hesitate to adopt it in cases where no imperfect follows to precipitate our decision. And the change of tone in Jer. 6, 17 וָאַקְשִׁיבָה is a final confirmation of the justice of our reasoning.

Thus Gen. 30, 41 f. (cf. the impf. ישים 42). Ex. 17, 11 והיה and it was, *whenever* ירים he raised up his hand, וגבר Israel prevailed. 18, 26 (cf. the impf. יביאון). 40, 31 f. (cf. וירחצו). Jud. 2, 18 f. וְהָיָה, וְהוֹשִׁיעָם (cf. וְנִחַם). 1 Sa. 1, 4 ונתן (cf. יִתֵּן 5). 6[a] (the account of the particular occasion which is the subject of the narrative begins וַתִּבְכֶּה 7[b]). 2 Sa. 12, 31. 14, 26. 17, 17 J. and A. remained at 'En-rogel, וְהָלְכָה *and* a girl *used to go and tell* them, וְהֵם יֵלְכוּ וְהִגִּידוּ and they *would go and tell* (notice the impf.) the king: (the *narrative* recommences וירא 18, with וַ just as Gen. 29, 4 [§ 113, 4 β]. 1 Sa. 1, 7). 1 Ki. 4, 7. 5, 7 וְכִלְכְּלוּ (cf. 7[b] לא יעדרו).

Gen. 47, 22 ואכלו. 1 Sa. 1, 3 ועלה (followed by מימים ימימה). 7, 16 וְהָלַךְ מִדֵּי שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *and he would go* year by year, וְסָבַב *and come round* to Beth-el etc., וְשָׁפַט *and judge* Israel at all these places. 13, 21 f. 16, 23. 2 Sa. 15, 2. 5 (the *succession* of pff. in most of these passages is very striking). 1 Ki. 9, 25 והעלה *used* to offer (notice the words *three times a year*). 18, 4[b] וכלכלם (plainly a *repeated* act, exactly as 5, 7). 2 Ki. 3, 4 וְהֵשִׁיב *used* to render. 12, 12–17. Jer. 6, 17 *and I kept raising up* over you watchmen. Am. 7, 4[1].

[1] וְאָכְלָה, in contradistinction to וַתֹּאכַל, seems to imply that the act of

Job 1, 4. See also the passages cited in the foot-note, § 133, p. 162.

Obs. 1. There is one place in the Old Testament where the appearance of this idiom is so curious and interesting as to merit special notice. Throughout the whole of the first fourteen chapters of the book of Joshua, although occupied by historical narrative, the nature of the events described is such as not to give opportunity for the use of the perfect and *waw* except on *three* occasions:—Josh. 6, 8 and 13 in the account of the blowing of the trumpets during the day's march round Jericho (an act which would obviously involve *repetition*), and 9, 12, where the waw is not consecutive but simply copulative, according to § 132: except in these three passages, the narrative is *exclusively* carried on by means of וַ, alternating, at times, with the bare perfect. Suddenly, upon arriving at chap. 15 (in which the history proceeds to delineate the course taken by the boundaries of the various tribes), the reader is startled by finding *vv.* 3–11 a succession of *perfects* connected by *waw* (וְעָלָה, וְעָבַר, וְיָצָא etc.). What can be the object of the change? In the teeth of the constant usage in the preceding portion of the book, it is highly improbable that the perfect and waw should be a *mere* alternative for וַ: and its known meaning elsewhere affords a strong presumption that here, too, it has a frequentative force, descriptive of the course which the boundary *used to take—used to take*, namely (not, as though a participle, *continuously took*), whenever any one passed along it or examined it. Let us see whether there is anything to confirm this presumption. After the historical episode 15, 13–19, and the enumeration of cities of Judah, 15, 20 ff., 16, 1 states how the lot fell for the children of Joseph, *v.* 2 proceeds to describe their boundaries, and the *perfect* with *waw* reappears, continuing as far as the end of *v.* 3. Here follows another break; but *v.* 6 the perfect is again resumed till we reach *v.* 8, where the presumption we had formed is triumphantly corroborated. *In v.* 8 *the imperfect*, the constant companion of the perfect with waw consecutive, *makes its appearance:* וְיָלַךְ, the force of which cannot be mistaken, vindicates and establishes for all the neighbouring and preceding perfects with *waw*, the frequentative sense assigned to them above. Nor is this all. In 17, 9 we have the perfect again: *v.* 10 we have the attendant impf. יִפְגָּעוּן. By the side of the long series of perfects and *waw* 18, 12–21, we find *v.* 20 and the Jordan

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devouring was in process, but not complete (so Hitz.). Hence R.V. 'would have eaten.'

יגבול *used to bound* it on the east: with *v.* 21 והיו of *cities*, cf. 21, 40 תהיינה similarly used. On the contrary, 19, 11–14. 22. 26–29. 34 present no case of an imperfect: but we shall not on that account feel any hesitation in supposing that, as before, a frequentative signification is still intended to be conveyed[1]. (In 19, 29 Kt. 33[b], we have ·יִ, according to § 114: cf. the perfect, *vv.* 13. 34[b].)

Obs. 2. It is worthy of note that the frequentative force of the perf. with ו consecutive (even when unaccompanied by an impf.) was often fully felt by the translators of the ancient Versions. Notice, for example, the *impf.* in the LXX, and the *participle* in the Targ. and Pesh., in the following passages: Gen. 38, 9 (§ 121), 47, 22 (*καὶ ἤσθιον*, ואכלין, ܘܐܟܠܝܢ). Ex. 18, 26. 33, 8–10. 34, 34. Nu. 11, 9 (§ 121). 1 Sa. 1, 3. 7, 16. 16, 23. 2 Ki. 3, 4 (*καὶ ἐπέστρεφε*, ומחיב, ܘܡܗܝܒ), etc.[2] (The same tenses are used often to express the frequentative force of the Hebrew impf.; e.g. Gen. 6, 4 LXX; Ex. 17, 11 LXX, Pesh. Targ.; 19, 19 Pesh. Targ.; etc.)

121. In the same way that we saw ויהי employed, § 78, in reference to the past, we find its counterpart וְהָיָה used in a *future* or *frequentative* sense: the discourse, or narrative, after the termination of the adverbial clause, being resumed either by another perfect with *waw consecutive*, or by the imperfect alone. The power of this idiom to produce a balanced rhythm, and to ease any sentence which involves a series of conditions or premisses (as Gen. 44, 30 f. 1 Ki. 18, 11 f.; Ex. 1, 10. Dt. 29, 18 after פֶּן), by affording a rest for voice and thought alike, will be manifest.

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[1] יהיה 15, 4[b] is not cited, because in our text the second person לכם follows, which necessitates the rendering *shall be*. Elsewhere, however, in these topographical descriptions, the third person is regularly employed: it seems, therefore, either that להם (LXX *αὐτῶν*) must be read for לכם; or, as the sentence thus produced is not quite in the style of the rest of the description, that the words וה יהיה לכם גבול נגב, as Dillmann suggests, have been transposed here from Nu. 34, 5 (where a comparison of *vv.* 6[b], 9[b], 12[b] shews that such a clause is now missing).

[2] On *ὅταν*, *ἡνίκα ἄν*, *ὡς ἄν*, with the impf. indic., found in some of these passages with a frequentative force, see Winer, *Gramm. of N. T. Greek*, § xlii. 5[b] *end* (see Mark 3, 11), and cf. the writer's *Notes on Samuel*, p. 112.

Examples of its use in the former signification :—Gen. 9, 14. 12, 12. 27, 40 etc. Isa. 2, 2. 7, 18. 21. 23. 14, 3 f. וְהָיָה בְּיוֹם . . . וְנָשָׂאתָ *and it shall be*, in the day when etc. *and* (=*that*) *thou shalt take up* this proverb: so often, especially in the prophets. And in giving expression to a wish, entreaty, or injunction (§ 119 δ), Jud. 4, 20. 7, 4. 17. 9, 33. 11, 31 etc.[1]

As a frequentative :—Gen. 38, 9. Nu. 21, 9. Jud. 6, 3 וְהָיָה אִם זָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעָלָה מִדְיָן *and it used to happen*, when Israel had sown, *that* the Midianites *used to* (or *would*) come up ; and breaking off into an impf., 2, 19. Ex. 33, 7. 8. 9 וְהָיָה כְּבֹא מֹשֶׁה הָאֹהֱלָה יֵרֵד *and it used to be*, when Moses entered into the Tent, the pillar of cloud *would* come down.

Obs. 1. והיה is met with also, more frequently than ויהי in the corresponding case § 78 *Obs.*, before a clause which, whether constituted by a ptcp. or otherwise, is resolvable into *who-*, *which-*, *what-ever*, and implies, therefore, virtually, a hypothetical occurrence : Gen. 4, 14 והיה כל מצאי יהרגני and it shall be, whosoever finds me[2], he will slay me (where, for יהרגני : וַהֲרָגָנִי would have been equally idiomatic). Nu. 10, 32[b]. 17, 20 *and it shall be*, the man whom I shall choose, his rod shall blossom. 21, 8. Dt. 12, 11. 18, 19. 21, 3 and it shall be, the city that is nearest to the slain man, ולקחו the elders of that city shall take etc. Jud. 7, 4. 11, 31. 19, 30 והיה כל־הרֹאֶה ואמר and it was (freq.), as regards every one that saw them, that he said etc. 1 Sa. 2, 36. 17, 25. 1 Ki. 18, 24. 19, 17 *and it shall be :* him that escapeth (=*whoso* or *if any* escapeth) from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay. 20, 6. Isa. 4, 3 והיה כל הנשאר בציון . . . קדוש יאָמֵר לו and it shall be, (as regards) every one left in Zion, holy shall be said unto him (i. e. he shall be called holy). 24, 18. Joel 3, 5. Nah. 3, 7. Occasionally, indeed, it serves as a *mere* intro-

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[1] It is very unusual for the sentence to be resumed by the imperative, Dt. 6, 10–12[a]. 1 Sa. 10, 7 ; cf. 29, 10.

[2] Observe how the sing. ptcp., especially with כָּל־ prefixed, is used idiomatically, as a *casus pendens*, with a distributive force, so as to denote succinctly a *hypothetical* occurrence : see (besides Gen. 4, 14. Nu. 21, 8. Jud. 19, 30. 1 Sa. 2, 36) 1 Sa. 2, 13. 3, 11. 10, 11 (p. 90 *n.*). 2 Sa. 2, 23 (*ib.*). 20, 12 : also Gen. 9, 6. Pr. 17, 13. 18, 13. 20, 20. 27, 14. 28, 9. 29, 12 ; 9, 7[b]. 13, 3. 17, 21. 28, 27[a]. 29, 9. Job 41, 18 ; and cf. Ges.-K. § 116. 5 Rem. 5, and below, § 126.

ductory formula, no such clause whatever following, Ex. 4, 16. 1 Ki. 17, 4 *and it shall be:* of the torrent shalt thou drink; and even immediately before the verb, Ez. 47, 10. 22.

Obs. 2. Nu. 5, 27 והיתה is very irregular. Jer. 42, 16 והיתה. 17 ויהיו resemble Gen. 31, 40 הייתי ביום אכלני חרב. The accents also, by connecting והיה with the subst. following, express apparently the same broken construction for several of the passages cited in *Obs.* 1, e. g. *And the place* which Yahweh shall choose etc. *shall be*—thither shall ye bring that which I command you: comp. § 165 *Obs.*[1]

Obs. 3. On four occasions, 1 Sa. 10, 5. 2 Sa. 5, 24 (1 Chr. 14, 15). Ruth 3, 4. 1 Ki. 14, 5[b], where we might have expected והיה, we find וַיְהִי. It is impossible to dismiss this so unconcernedly as is done by Ewald, § 345[b]: either ויהי must be a mere copyist's error, or some definite explanation must be found for the adoption of so unusual a form: observe how in 1 Sa. ויהי is followed within a few verses by two instances of the customary והיה. In the first three passages, at any rate, the verb has the force of a legitimate jussive: יהי is simply prefixed to the adverbial clause in the same manner as וַיְהִי and והיה. Thus, 1 Sa. *and let it be* (a permissive edict, issued through the medium of the prophet: cf. 2 Ki. 2, 10), when thou goest into the city and meetest (after כבא, § 118: for the *co-ordination* of the two clauses, cf. p. 135 *Obs.*) a band of prophets . . . וצלחה *that* the spirit of Yahweh *fall* upon thee etc.; 2 Sa. the sentence is resumed by a second jussive: Ruth 3 *and let it be*, when he lieth down, *and observe* (or *that thou* observe) the place where he lieth. In 1 Ki. *and it shall be* (A. V.), for ויהי, is quite out of the question: for how could a mere piece of information have been ever expressed by a *jussive?* We must then either correct והיה, or suppose that some words have dropped out: the sentence reads as though it were incomplete, and והיא מתנכרה suggests irresistibly the idea that it must be a 'circumstantial clause' (see App. I). If we assume that some such words as ואמרת אליה למה זה את מתנכרה (cf. *v.* 6) have fallen out, the

[1] See, however, Wickes, *Prose Accents*, p. 37. At the same time, it may be noticed that והיה when followed by a clause introduced by כי etc. has commonly a distinctive accent (e. g. Gen. 27, 40. 44, 31. Ex. 12, 25. 26. 13, 11. 14); so that the view expressed in the text appears to be a tenable one. But the usage, even in the cases referred to, fluctuates (contrast e. g. Gen. 4, 14. Nu. 10, 32[b] with Nu. 16, 7. 17, 20. Josh. 2, 19); and of course the accentuation, though it may indicate the sense in which a sentence was understood in 7–8 cent. A. D., does not determine the construction attached to it by the original author.

jussive ויהי is at once explained, an appropriate sense is obtained (*and let it be,* when she enters in disguised, *that thou say* etc.), and the cause of the omission becomes plain in the ὁμοιοτέλευτον מהנכרה.

122. We have already had occasion to call attention to the *demonstrative* force of the conjunction *waw;* and in several of the passages cited in § 119 this meaning displayed itself undisguisedly. Certainly the וְ did not there indicate a *formal* consequence, as when followed by the voluntative (Chap. V): but a *material* consequence conceived as arising out of, or suggested by, the situation described in the preceding words was none the less clearly intimated. E. g. Ruth 3, 9 the petition וּפָרַשְׂתָּ is plainly based upon the relation borne by the speaker towards Bo'az, as expressed in the words *I am Ruth:* and the *waw* may fairly be rendered by 'so,' 'then,' '*itaque*[1].' It is but a stronger instance of the same demonstrative usage when, as will have now to be explained, וְ is employed in certain cases in order to introduce the *predicate,* or, more often, the *apodosis.*

Obs. The relation subsisting between the copulative conjunction and demonstrative roots can be illustrated from Greek and Latin. Of *καὶ* Curtius *Grundzüge der Griech. Etymol.* No. 27, p. 128 ed. 2 writes, 'The form appears to be the Locative of a pronominal stem *κα, κο* (cf. Lith. *kai,* how?), which has here preserved its demonstrative signification. From the same stem springs *τε* with *τ* for *κ*' (on this change see *ibid.* pp. 426 ff., and cf. *τίς* with *quis, τέσσαρες* with *quatuor,* Sk. *chatvâras* etc.): in *-que,* on the contrary, as in Sk. *cha,* the guttural is retained. On this stem *cha* (from which *ποῦ; πότε;* Ion. *κοῦ; κότε;* etc. *who, where, whether* etc. are derived), Curtius remarks further, p. 410, 'The earliest use of the stem *ka* was probably, like that of all the

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[1] Compare further, in connexion with this use of ו, Gen. 27, 8 and often ועתה *νῦν οὖν.* 34, 21 וישבו *and* where is he? (or, where is he, *then?*) 1 Sa. 26, 22 ויעבר *so* let one of the young men come over. 2 Sa. 18, 22 ויהי מה *well,* come what may. 2 Ki. 4, 41 וקחו fetch meal then! 7, 13. 2 Chr. 18, 12 ויהי *so* let thy word, I pray, be like one of theirs (1 Ki. 22, 13 יהי only). Isa. 47, 9 ותבאנה (*v.* 11 ובא). Ps. 4, 4 ודעו *know, then.* Cf. Il. xxiii. 75 **καί** *μοι δὸς τὴν χεῖρα.*

pronominal stems, as a demonstrative. It is preserved in the Locative ἐ-κεῖ, with which *-ce* [as in *illi-c* etc.], Lat. *cis, ci-tra* must be compared.' In a similar way δὲ (cf. δῆ, ὅ-δε), if not *et* (cf. ἔτι), is probably to be explained: see pp. 560 f., 188. Upon this view ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε literally means '*there* men, *there* gods,' i. e. both together = '*both* men *and* gods.' And the theory derives a striking confirmation from Latin, where we are in fact able to watch the transition from the demonstrative to the copulative signification taking place beneath our eyes. *Tum* unquestionably means *then:* but in such a sentence as '*tum* homines, *tum* equi aderant' (the structure of which exactly resembles that of ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε) we see it possessing virtually a copulative force,—literally '*then* men, *then* horses were there,' i. e. they were both there together = '*both* horses *and* men were there.'

Without assuming that the Hebrew וְ had once a distinctly demonstrative force, it does not appear possible to explain or account for the phenomena which its use actually presents. Starting from a meaning not stronger than that of our modern *and*, we do not readily perceive how such a weak word as ו must then have been, could ever stand in the emphatic positions it really occupies: starting on the other hand with a *demonstrative* signification, we at once comprehend, even without the aid of the Aryan analogies, and especially, because best attested, the Latin *tum*, by what steps this might become merely copulative. If the latter view be correct, *three* different modes present themselves in which it is employed; the first, comprising those cases in which the stronger and more decided sense is still evidently retained; the second (the *waw consec.* generally, but more particularly with the *perfect*), comprising those in which the earlier meaning has to be assumed (see p. 117) in order to explain the usage, but where the conscious recollection of it was probably as much forgotten in practice by the ancient Hebrew as it is disregarded by the modern reader in translation; the third, comprising the instances in which its force is equivalent to that of the copulative conjunction—'the heavens, *then* the earth,' being identical with 'the heavens *and* the earth.' The Arabic language possesses two forms of the copulative, فَ *fa* as well as وَ *wa:* the latter being the *mere* copulative, the former carrying the stronger meaning *then, so,* οὖν etc., and being employed generally in all those cases which correspond to the *first* class just mentioned. It lies near to conjecture that both *wa* and *fa* (cf. the Heb. אַף) are but modifications of the same original labial stem, that in Arabic the two words once existed side by side as by-forms, but that, in process of time, a differentiation was effected, in consequence of which *fa* was reserved for emphatic occasions, while in Hebrew *fa* as such fell out of use, and the single form *wa* had to do double duty. And that a

demonstrative signification is not foreign to the syllable *fa*, may be inferred from the adverbs פֹּה *here*, אֵיפֹה *where?* (formed from פֹּה, like אֵי־זֶה from זֶה), אֵפוֹ or אֵפוֹא *then*, *so*, δή. Upon the whole, then, we seem sufficiently justified in assigning a *demonstrative* origin to the Semitic ו: the conclusion suggested, if not necessitated, by the usages of Hebrew syntax receiving independent confirmation from the analogies offered by the Aryan family of speech.

123. Accordingly, וְ is met with before the verb (*a*) when the sentence has commenced with the *casus pendens*, i. e. where, the logical subject or object being prefixed, the place which they would ordinarily occupy is filled grammatically by either a suffix or a fresh substantive.

Thus Ex. 4, 21 כָּל־הַמּוֹפְתִים אֲשֶׁר . . . וַעֲשִׂיתָם all the signs which etc., *thou shalt do them* (§ 119 *β*: so 12, 44 וּמַלְתָּה אֹתוֹ 2 Sa. 14, 10 the man that speaketh unto thee וַהֲבֵאֹתוֹ אלי *bring him* unto me. 2 Chr. 19, 10). 9, 19 all the men who are found in the field וְיָרַד עֲלֵיהֶם the hail *shall come down* upon them. 21, 13 וְשַׂמְתִּי after אשר *whoso* (so Jud. 1, 12). Lev. 20, 6. 26, 36. Nu. 10, 32[b]. 14, 31 וטפכם . . . והבאתי אתם. 17, 3. Isa. 56, 6 f. 65, 7. Jer. 27, 11. Ez. 17, 19. Mi. 3, 5. Pr. 9, 16 (*freq.* cf. וישבה *v.* 14: *v.* 4 the construction is different, § 12).

Gen. 17, 14. Ex. 12, 15 every one eating leavened bread ונכרתה הנפש ההוא that soul *shall be cut off:* so 31, 14[b]. Lev. 7, 20. 25, and often; similarly Dt. 17, 12. 18, 20. Jer. 23, 34.

Even the direct predicate may be thus introduced, though usually only when it is separated from its subject by several intervening words: Ex. 30, 33. 38. Nu. 19, 11 . . . הַנֹּגֵעַ בְּמֵת וְטָמֵא שִׁבְעַת יָמִים. 24, 24. 1 Sa. 25, 27 הַבְּרָכָה . . . וְנִתְּנָה. 2 Ki. 11, 7. Isa. 9, 4 for every boot of him that trampeth etc. . . . וְהָיְתָה *it shall be* for burning; and in a freq. sense, 44, 12 ופעל[1]

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[1] The construction of the present text is, however, here so harsh as to leave it scarcely doubtful that a verb has fallen out either before or after חרש ברזל. LXX has ὤξυνεν, Pesh. ܕܠܛܫ, whence Delitzsch would prefix הִדֵּד, Cheyne (*Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah*, 1868) still better הֵחֵד, which might easily drop out from similarity with

(observe the following יצרהו). Jer. 51, 58b (see Hab. 2, 13). 2 Chr. 13, 9: 1 Sa. 17, 20 וְהֵרִיעוּ . . . וְהַחַיִל, if the text be correct, will also belong here.

(β) Very frequently after various time-determinations:— Gen. 3, 5 in the day of your eating from it, וְנִפְקְחוּ your eyes *will be* opened. Ex. 16, 6 עֶרֶב וִידַעְתֶּם at even—*then* ye will know. 7. 32, 34b. Nu. 10, 10. 18, 30b. Dt. 4, 30 (וְשַׁבְתָּ). 2 Sa. 7, 14. 15, 10. 1 Ki. 13, 31 when I die, וּקְבַרְתֶּם *ye shall bury* me by the man of God. 14, 12. Ez. 24, 24b. 33, 18 ומת (19 the impf.). Ob. 8: after the phrase הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים, 1 Sa. 2, 31 behold days are coming וְגִדַּעְתִּי *and I will hew off* thy arm. 2 Ki. 20, 17 (Isa. 39, 6). Amos 4, 2. 8, 11. 9, 13, and often in Jeremiah (the expression does not occur elsewhere): after עוֹד מְעַט, as Ex. 17, 4 a little while וְסָקְלֻנִי *and they will* stone me. Isa. 10, 25. 29, 17. Jer. 51, 33 (וּבָאָה, § 112. 5) etc.; cf. Isa. 16, 14. 18, 5 וכרת. 21, 16. Pr. 6, 10f.[1] And involving a question (cf. § 119 γ), 1 Sa. 24, 20a. Ez. 15, 5b ונעשה *shall it* be yet made into any work? Compare also Pr. 24, 27 אַחַר וּבָנִיתָ afterwards, *and* (or *then*) thou shalt build thy house (cf. the impf., Gen. 18, 5. 24, 55 al.): Ps. 141, 5 is probably only an extreme instance of the same construction.

And without any verb following:—Isa. 17, 14. Ps. 37, 10.

In a frequentative signification:—Gen. 31, 8 וילדו *then they used* to bear. Ex. 1, 19b before the midwife comes to them, וילדו *they bear*. Nu. 9, 19. 1 Sa. 2, 13 כָּל־אִישׁ זֹבֵחַ זָבַח וּבָא when any one sacrificed (cf. p. 147, *n.*), the young man *used to come* (cf. יקח, יעשו 14). 15 LXX excellently *πρὶν θυμιαθῆναι τὸ στέαρ ἤρχετο τὸ παιδάριον καὶ ἔλεγε.*

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the preceding יהד. Another suggestion would be יַחַד, as in Pr. 27, 17, or, if the jussive form be objected to, יָחַד or יָחַד: in this case the *tense* would accord better with the two verbs following; we should obtain for 12a three frequentatives, which naturally go together (יז 12b, § 114 β).

[1] 2 Chr. 10, 5 we have the imperative ושובו after עוד: but in 1 Ki. 12, 5 לכו is added before עד, which LXX read likewise in 2 Chr.

(γ) After other words, as טֶרֶם Isa. 66, 7b (7a, without וְ, the instantaneous perfect, § 136 γ); יַעַן, 1 Ki. 20, 28 because they have said . . . וְנָתַתִּי *I will give* etc. 42. Isa. 3, 16 f. 37, 29 ונתתי. Jer. 7, 13 f.; כִּי *since* or *because*, Gen. 29, 15; עֵקֶב, Nu. 14, 24; תַּחַת, Isa. 60, 15. 2 Ki. 22, 17 וְנִצַּתָה; Dan. 8, 25. Ps. 25, 11 for thy name's sake וְסָלַחְתָּ *so pardon* or *pardon then* (§ 119 δ) mine iniquity! and constantly in introducing the apodosis after כי and אם, Dt. 6, 21. 13, 15. 22, 2. 21 etc.: see Chap. XI, §§ 136–138.

Obs. In all these cases the impf. alone might have been used, the only advantage of the pf. with וְ being that it marks the apodosis more distinctly, and by separating the initial words (the subject or protasis) from those which follow renders them more emphatic. Frequently, indeed, we meet with the two forms in close proximity to each other: see Gen. 44, 9 and 10. Jud. 8, 7 and 9; cf. also Gen. 4, 15 with Ex. 12, 15. Nu. 19, 11; Gen. 40, 13 with Isa. 21, 16.

Where a more special emphasis is desired, a different method is commonly employed: the subject is *reinforced* by the personal pronoun. A few examples will suffice: Gen. 3, 12. 15, 4 but one that shall come forth out of thine own bowels הוא יירשך *he* shall be thine heir. 24, 7 Yahweh, the God of heaven, who took me etc. הוא ישלח *he* shall send his angel etc. 42, 6. 44, 17 (cf. 9, just cited). Ex. 12, 16b only what is eaten etc. הוא יעשה *that* may be done of you. Isa. 34, 16b. 38, 19. 47, 10 היא. 59, 16b. 63, 5b. (The same *principle* in oblique cases: Lev. 25, 44 מן; Dt. 13, 1. Jud. 11, 24. Isa. 8, 13 את; Ez. 18, 24. 27, 21. 33, 13b ב; Lev. 7, 8. 9. 14. 21, 3 ל; 2 Sa. 6, 22 עם. Cf. Dt. 14, 6. 20, 20. 1 Sa. 15, 9b.)

124. If the וְ becomes separated from the verb, the latter naturally appears in the impf.: this, however, is comparatively a rare occurrence[1].

After הן or הנה Ex. 8, 22 וְלֹא will they not stone us? (where הֲלֹא might have been expected). 1 Sa. 9, 7 ומה; Gen. 2, 4b–5a. Ex. 25, 9 ובכל . . . ובן, cf. Nu. 9, 17 (freq.); Lev. 7, 16 וּמִמָּחֳרָת וְהַנּוֹתָר יֵאָכֵל. Josh. 3, 3 (but no וְ appears in the similar injunction 8b). 1 Ki. 8, 32 ואתה. 34. 36. 39 (omitted 43).

[1] Nearly all the instances are cited.

Isa. 8, 7 ולכן (after יען כי). 57, 12 ולא (after ואת, Ew. § 277^{d2}: cf. Nu. 35, 6. 3, 46 f.). 65, 24 ואני (after טרם, and also a partcp. with עוד). Jer. 7, 32 ולא. Ez. 5, 11 וגם אני. 16, 43 (cf. 23, 35); Zech. 3, 7 וגם אתה (Hitz.). Ps. 115, 7 (different from *v.* 5 f.). Job 20, 18^{b} ולא. 23, 12 ולא אמוש. 25, 5. 31, 14 ומה. 35, 15^{b} (Ew. Dillm. Del.). See also § 136 *a Obs.*

The וְ is followed by a *perfect*, Ruth 4, 5 thou *wilt have* purchased (but for וּמֵאֵת we should here certainly read גַּם אֵת, as in *v.* 10); and by a *participle*, Jon. 3, 4. Hag. 2, 6—both after עוד.

125. Sometimes further, though still more rarely, we have וְ closely joined to the *imperfect*:—Ex. 12, 3 in the tenth day of the month וְיִקְחוּ. Nu. 16, 5 in the morning וְיֵדַע Yahweh will shew. 1 Sa. 30, 22^{b}. 2 Chr. 34, 25 וְתִתַּךְ[1] (altered—or corrupted—from 2 Ki. 22, 17, § 123 *γ*). Isa. 19, 20 וישלח. 43, 4 ואתן. Jer. 8, 1 Kt. 13, 10 וְיִהִי *let it be*, then, as this girdle (the jussive implying the *abandonment* of the nation, that it may follow freely its course of ruin). Ez. 12, 12 בעלטה וְיֵצֵא. 31, 11. 33, 31. Hos. 4, 6 (Baer) because thou hast rejected knowledge, וְאֶמְאָסְאֵךְ. 10, 10 בְּאַוָּתִי וְאֵאָסְרֵם. Ps. 69, 33 וְיִחְיוּ. 91, 14 (unless כי=*for*). Job 15, 17 that which I have seen, וַאֲסַפְּרָה *let me tell it.*

Obs. Compare the cases in which the predicate or apodosis *without a verb* is introduced in the same way:—Gen. 40, 9. 16 בחלומי והנה. 2 Sa. 15, 34 thy father's slave, ואני מאז I was *that* before; but now, ואני עבדך *now* I will be thine! 23, 3 f. *when one ruleth* over men, as a just one, when one *ruleth* in the fear of God, וכאור *then* is it like the shining of the morn at sunrise. Isa. 34, 12 (an extreme case) her nobles . . . ואין שם *there is none* there that etc. Ez. 1, 18 וגבה. Job 4, 6^{b} (see Del.). 36, 26^{b}. Pr. 10, 25^{a} when a tempest passes by ואין רשע *then* the wicked is not. 1 Chr. 28, 21. Gen. 20, 16^{b}. Cf. too 2 Sa. 22, 41 (which differs from Ps. 18, 41 exactly as Pr. 23, 24^{b} Kt. does from Qrê): the misplacement of וְ in *one* of the two texts would be parallel to that which we are almost obliged to assume Ps. 16, 3. But 2 Ki. 11, 5 ושמרי is very harsh: read rather ושמרו (*v.* 7) or ישמרו; and comp. on the graphical confusion of י and ו *Notes on Samuel*, p. lxvi. f.

[1] In some edd. וְתִתַּךְ (§§ 81, 127).

126. A special case of this use of the perfect with *waw* consecutive is when it is preceded by a *participle*, which is then often introduced by הִנֵּה.

Thus with הנה:—1 Ki. 20, 36 הִנְּךָ הוֹלֵךְ . . . וְהִכָּךְ behold thou art going from me, and a lion will smite thee (=*as* thou goest from me, a lion *will* etc.). Jud. 7, 17. 9, 33 (*as* he comes out, thou shalt etc.: Vulg. excellently *illo autem egrediente* . . . fac ei quod potueris). Gen. 24, 13 f. (a *wish* or *hope*, § 119 δ).

Without הנה:—1 Ki. 18, 11 f. 14. 2 Ki. 7, 9 וְאַחֲנוּ מַחְשִׁים *and if* we are silent and wait (pf. as § 117) וּמְצָאָנוּ iniquity will find us out (*si tacuerimus*, Vulg.). Pr. 29, 9 (p. 147 *n.*), cf. *v.* 21 and 20, 21 (וְ separated from the verb); of past time, 1 Sa. 2, 13 (frequentative: p. 152).

The same use of the partcp. appears likewise with the impf. alone in the apodosis:—

Josh. 2, 18 behold *as* (or *when*) *we come* אֶת־תִּקְוַת חוּט תְּקַשְׁרִי thou shalt bind this thread on to the window (ingredientibus nobis). Gen. 50, 5. Ex. 3, 13 behold אָנֹכִי בָא וְאָמַרְתִּי *if I go* and say (§ 117) . . ., and they say, What is his name? (here comes the apodosis) *what* shall I say to them? cf. Nu. 24, 14. 1 Sa. 16, 15 f.; and with an imperative or participle in the apodosis, Gen. 49, 29. Ex. 9, 17 f. Cf. § 165.

127. Similarly, when the reference is to what is past or certain rather than to what is future or indefinite we find the predicate or the apodosis introduced by וְ, though not with nearly the same frequency as by the perf. and *waw* consecutive[1].

(*a*) With subject prefixed:—Gen. 22, 24. 30, 30 for the little that thou hadst before I came, וַיִּפְרֹץ *it* hath increased etc. Ex. 9, 21. 38, 24. Nu. 14, 36 f. וימתו (with repetition of the subject האנשים). 1 Sa. 14, 19 ויולך. 17, 24. 2 Sa. 19, 41 Kt. 1 Ki. 11, 26. 2 Ki. 2, 14[b] (accents). Jer. 44, 25. Ps. 107, 13 (the subject of ויועקו being ישבי חשך 10). 2 Chr. 25, 13.

[1] Nearly all the instances are cited.

With object prefixed:—2 Sa. 4, 10 for he that told me saying, Saul is dead, וָאֹחֲזָה בוֹ I took hold of him etc. 1 Ki. 9, 20 f. ויעלם (cf. 2 Chr. 8, 7 f.). 12, 17. 15, 13 וְגַם אֶת־מַעֲכָה וַיְסִירֶהָ מִגְּבִירָה. 2 Ki. 16, 14 (את). 25, 22. Jer. 6, 19 וְתוֹרָתִי וַיִּמְאֲסוּ בָהּ. 28, 8. 33, 24 וַיִּמְאָסֵם.

(β) After time-determinations:—as ב Gen. 22, 4 on the third day וַיִּשָּׂא Abraham lifted up his eyes (=*it was* on the third day *that* Abraham lifted up his eyes: cf. 1 Chr. 16, 7, where אז is similarly introduced). Dt. 9, 23. Nu. 7, 89. 12, 12. Jud. 11, 16. 1 Sa. 21, 6 בצאתי ויהיו[1]. 2 Ki. 25, 3=Jer. 52, 6. Isa. 6, 1. Jer. 7, 25. Ez. 20, 5. Ps. 138, 3. 1 Chr. 21, 28. 2 Chr. 13, 1 (2 Ki. 15, 1 מלך only). 28, 22; בְּטֶרֶם, Gen. 37, 18; כ, Gen. 27, 34. 1 Sa. 4, 20. 17, 57. Hos. 13, 6. Esth. 5, 9b; כַּאֲשֶׁר, 1 Sa. 6, 6. 12, 8; כְּמוֹ, Gen. 19, 15; כִּי *when*, Josh. 22, 7. Hos. 11, 1. Ps. 50, 18. Jer. 37, 16 f.[2]; מֵעֵת, 2 Chr. 25, 27; Dan. 1, 18.

(γ) After other words:—כַּאֲשֶׁר *as*, Ex. 16, 34. Nu. 1, 19; יַעַן, 1 Sa. 15, 23 *because* thou hast rejected Yahweh וַיִּמְאָסְךָ *he* has rejected thee; כִּי, Hos. 4, 6 (edd.: not Baer; see § 125). 2 Chr. 24, 20b; 1 Ki. 10, 9. Isa. 45, 4 (after לְמַעַן). 48, 5 (after מִדַּעְתִּי, *v.* 4; cf. Nu. 14, 16 after . . . מִבִּלְתִּי). Ez. 16, 47. Ps. 59, 16 (after אם). Job 36, 7[3]. 9 (Hitz. Del. Dillm.). 1 Chr. 28, 5; Dan. 1, 20 (cf. 1 Sa. 20, 23. 2 Ki. 22, 18b–19).

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[1] As usually rendered: see, however, W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 1889, p. 436 (quoted in the writer's *Notes on Samuel*, p. 293).

[2] But here וַיָּבֹא (LXX) should no doubt be restored in *v.* 16 for כי בא: cf. p. 83 *note*.

[3] But Job 19, 18 will be most safely and naturally explained by § 54 or 84, and for 30, 26 see p. 70 *note:* it is too precarious to suppose that the ·וַ in וידברו and ויבאו should mark, as it marks nowhere else, the apodosis to a hypothetical voluntative, §§ 150–152.

In the Hebrew translation of the New Testament, published by the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (London, 1867), the construction with ·וַ is employed in answer to כאשר etc. with a frequency and freedom quite without precedent in any of the Old Testament historians; in the more recent editions, however (the latest, 1890), revised by Professor Delitzsch for the British and Foreign Bible Society, this

128. When the verb no longer stands at the beginning of the clause, the pf. tense reappears, but usually, as in the parallel case § 124, the וְ is then altogether dispensed with :— Gen. 19, 4, so 2 Ki. 6, 32 (והוא אמר); Jud. 11, 26 while Israel dwelt in Heshbon etc. three hundred years, וּמַדּוּעַ לֹא הִצַּלְתֶּם *pray* why did you not deliver them during that time? Isa. 48, 7 before to-day, וְלֹא שְׁמַעְתָּם thou hast not heard them. Ps. 142, 4. Dan. 10, 4. 9b. 2 Chr. 5, 13. 7, 1. 26, 19.

129. In the few isolated cases where the *perfect* with וְ occurs thus in relation to the past or present, it is either frequentative (§ 123 *β*), or else altogether exceptional :—Ex. 36, 38. 2 Ki. 11, 1 Kt. Isa. 37, 26 מימי קדם ויצרתיה (cf. 48, 7). Jer. 40, 3b. Ez. 16, 19.

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and many other faults of style have been corrected. (Comp. on this version an article by the present writer in the *Expositor*, April, 1886, p. 260 ff.; also a *brochure* by Delitzsch himself, entitled *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Leipzig, 1883, and papers by him in the *Expositor*, Feb., Apr., Oct. 1889, and in *Saat auf Hoffnung*, Feb. 1890, p. 67 ff.) For παραγενόμενοι δὲ (or ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγένοντο) εἶπον, classical Hebrew says, either ויבואו ויאמרו (§ 149 *n.*), or if the subordinate clause calls for greater prominence ויהי כבואם ויאמרו. It does not say וכבואם ויאמרו, though this type, of course, is met with *occasionally*, but in the best authors the introductory ו is usually avoided. And even וכבואם אמרו is only common as a later idiom (see 1 Chr. 21, 15. 2 Chr. 12, 7. 12. 15, 8. 20, 20. 22. 23. 22, 7. 24, 14. 22b. 25. 26, 16. 29, 27. 29. 31, 1. 5. 33, 12. 34, 14. Ezra 9, 1. 3. 5. 10, 1. Esth. 9, 1 f. Dan. 8, 8b. 18. 10, 11b. 15. 19b. 11, 2. 4. 12, 7b: cf. with וְ 2 Chr. 5, 13. 7, 1. 26, 19. Dan. 10, 9b, § 128); the earlier writers, as a rule (comp. p. 89 *n.*, and the writer's note on 1 Sa. 17, 55), prefer ויאמרו כבואם, or prefix ויהי.

CHAPTER IX.

The Perfect and Imperfect with Weak Waw.

130. It will appear to the reader almost ludicrous to devote a separate chapter to the consideration of what will seem to be such an elementary phenomenon of language as the union of either the perfect or the imperfect with the simple conjunction וְ. Yet, common and constant as this union is in the case of most other Semitic languages, in Hebrew, especially so far as the *perfect* is concerned, it is such a rare and isolated occurrence as both to invite and demand a somewhat minute investigation.

131. Although in Hebrew the continuation of a historical narrative is most usually expressed by the impf. with וַ, we find, occasionally in the earlier books of the Old Testament, and with increasing frequency in the later ones, that this idiom, which is so peculiarly and distinctively a creation of the Hebrew language, has been replaced by the *perfect* with the simple or weak *waw*, וְ. Generally, indeed, as we saw in the last chapter, and invariably when the verb to which the perfect is annexed is a bare imperfect, §§ 113. 4, 120, the *waw* prefixed to the perfect is consecutive, and the sense consequently frequentative: but a certain number of passages exist in which this signification is out of place; in these, therefore, we are compelled to suppose that the *waw* is the *mere* copulative, and that it no longer exerts over the following verb that strong and peculiar modifying influence which we term conversive. There are two principal cases in which the perfect with weak *waw* is thus met with. The feature

common to them both is this—that the idiom employed, instead of representing a given event as *arising out of*, or *being a continuation of*, some previous occurrence (in the manner of the idiom with וְ), represents it as standing on an independent ground of its own, as connected indeed with what precedes, but only externally and superficially, without any inner bond of union existing between them: in a word, it causes the narrative to advance not by development but by *accretion*. Accordingly we find it used (1) upon occasions when a writer wishes to place two facts in *co-ordination* with one another, to exhibit the second as simultaneous with the first rather than as succeeding it; for instance, in the conjunction of two synonymous or similar ideas: and (2), chiefly in the later books, when the language was allowing itself gradually to acquiesce in and adopt the mode of speech customary in the Aramaic dialects current at the time around Palestine[1], in which the rival construction with וְ, at least in historical times, was never employed.

132. Thus (1) Gen. 31, 7[2] התל בי והחלף. Nu. 23, 19[3]

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[1] On the different Aramaic dialects see Nöldeke's art., 'Semitic Languages,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 9 (reprinted separately in German under the title, *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1887); Dr. Wright's *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Chap. ii; Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, p. 12 ff.; or, more briefly, the writer's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*, p. 471 f. The dialects spoken in and about Palestine are represented at present (1891) in their oldest known forms by the Palmyrene and Nabataean Inscriptions (the former principally in De Vogué, *Syrie Centrale*, 1868, the latter in Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, 1885), dating mostly from third cent. B. C. to first cent. A. D., and the Aramaic sections of Ezra and Daniel; also (though these are marked by the singular difference of זי, זנה, for the relative and demonstrative pronouns די and דנה) by the Têma Inscriptions (Part ii, Tom. i, Nos. 113 ff. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*), and the Egyptian Aramaic Inscriptions (*ibid.*, Nos. 122 ff.), the earliest dating from the fifth cent. B. C. The Aramaic of the Targums is in certain features of a somewhat later type than any of these dialects.

[2] This may possibly be freq.: for the pf. התל, cf. § 114 *a*.

[3] On *v.* 20 וברך, see § 148 *end*: on 24, 17 יקם (future), § 113. 1.

(coupling a parallel term to אָמַר under הָ). Dt. 2, 30. 33, 2. 20. Josh. 9, 12 (cf. *v.* 5, where וְ is omitted). Jud. 5, 26[1]. 1 Sa. 12, 2 זקנתי ושׂבתי *am old and grey-headed.* 1 Ki. 8, 47[b]. 20, 27. Isa. 1, 2 גדלתי ורוממתי. 8. 2, 11 ושח. 5, 14[a]. 8, 8 ועבר (שטף § 14 γ). 19, 6 וחרבו. 13. 14. 24, 6[b] (cf. the *ἀσύνδετα*, *vv.* 5. 7 f.). 29, 20. 34, 14[b]. 15. 37, 25. 27 וָבֹשׁוּ (2 Ki. 19, 26 וַיֵּבֹשׁוּ). 38, 12. 40, 12. 41, 4. 43, 12 (as in 1, 2, observe there is no change of tone). 44, 8. 55, 10 (*might* be consecutive: see 6, 11 f.). 11. 63, 10. Joel 1, 7.

Omitting instances in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, we have several from the Psalms: 20, 9[a] (9[b] וְ, more euphonious than the pf., and in sharper contrast to 9[a]). 27, 2. 34, 11. 37, 14. 38, 9. 20[2]. 66, 14. 76, 9. 86, 13. 17. 131, 2. Add further, Pr. 22, 3. Job 16, 15. 18, 11. 29, 21[a]. Lam. 2, 22. 3, 42. And after an impf. with וְ, Gen. 49, 23. Isa. 9, 19. Hab. 1, 11.

Obs. Sometimes, however, in cases of this sort, the second verb is annexed by means of וְ: cf. Ex. 31, 17. Isa. 57, 11. Ps. 7, 16. 16, 8. 119, 73 (cf. Job 10, 8).

133. (2) Such are the only instances which seem capable of being reduced to a definite rule. Of the instances which remain, those which occur in the later books may be fairly regarded as attributable to the influence of Aramaic usage: but for the few which are met with in the earlier books (Genesis—2 Samuel, Amos, Isaiah), it is more than doubtful whether such an explanation is admissible. For, independently of the question of date, it is hardly credible that had the Aramaic influence existed it should only have made itself felt on such *exceedingly rare* occasions in all the historical

[1] In this Song (except once, *v.* 28), as in Ex. 15, וְ appears to be intentionally avoided: אז, or the bare impf. (§ 27 *a*), suit better the empassioned style of both.

[2] Here, though the tone is on the ultima, the waw is not necessarily consecutive: in verbs ע״ע, even where no waw consecutive is prefixed, the tone is sometimes *milraʿ*, as Ps. 69, 5 רַבּוּ. See Kalisch, ii. § lxii. 1 (*b*).

books from Genesis to Samuel: in the later portions of the Old Testament, it will be remembered, it shews itself much more frequently. Why, upon these rare occasions, the construction observed uniformly elsewhere (ויאמר דוד, or the alternating ודוד אמר) was abandoned must, I think, remain an insoluble enigma: all that can be said is that in some few of the instances the novel construction introduces the mention of a fact not perhaps meant to be *immediately* connected with the previous narrative, while in others, by no longer representing the idea conveyed by the verb as part of a continuous series, it may allow it greater prominence and emphasis than it would otherwise have received. Even so, however, most would yet remain unexplained: and though the latter supposition would be suitable enough in the case of ונעל, ונפל, for example, still, if such were felt to be the force of the idiom, it is remarkable that advantage should not have been taken of it more frequently. The instances which occur must simply be recorded as *isolated irregularities*, of which no entirely adequate explanation can be offered[1].

Gen. 15, 6 והאמן. 21, 25 והוכח. 28, 6. 38, 5 והיה (a uniquely-worded sentence, which can scarcely be before us in its original form: LXX *αὖτη* points to וְהִוא: cf. 1 Sa. 23, 15. 24. 2 Chr. 10, 2). Ex. 5, 16. 36, 38. 38, 28. 39, 3. Jud. 3, 23 ונעל. 7, 13 ונפל. 16, 18 (*might* be freq.: cf. 6, 3). 1 Sa. 1, 12 והיה. 3, 13 והגדתי. 4, 19. 10, 9 והיה. 17, 38 ונתן. 48 והיה. 25, 20 והיה. 2 Sa. 6, 16. 7, 11[b] והגיד. 13, 18 ונעל again. 16, 5. 23, 20. 1 Ki. 3, 11[b]. 6, 32. 35. 11, 10. 12, 32. 13, 3 ונתן. 14, 27. 20, 21. 21, 12. Isa. 9, 7. 22, 14. 28, 26[2]? 38,

[1] This use of the pf. with ו is undeniably anomalous, as it is also an inelegancy: but in view of the number of instances it can scarcely be maintained with Stade (*ZATW.* 1885, pp. 291–3) that all examples found in pre-exilic passages are due to corruption of the text.

[2] ויסרו 'mit der einfachen Copula, weil die Unterweisung dem Thun des Landmanns vorangeht, also in der Zeit zurückgeschritten wird,' Hitz. Still, a *general* course of dealing is described: in the context fre-

RESERVED

15 ('both'). Amos 7, 2. Ps. 22, 6. 15. 28, 7. 34, 5. 6 [but see § 58 *note*]. 35, 15. 135, 10. 12. 148, 5[1].

In 2 Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel[2], Chronicles, this usage becomes somewhat more frequent, but the reader may there collect examples for himself. The impf. and וַ, however, continues still to be distinctly the predominant construction: in Ezra, for example, the pf. with וְ occurs only 3, 10. 6, 22. 8, 30. 36. 9, 2 (9, 6. 13, § 132), in Nehemiah only 9, 7 f. 10, 33. 12, 39. 13, 1. 30, and in Esther 2, 14. 3, 12. 8, 15. 9, 23. 24. 25? 27; though, in the last-named book, it is possible that the preference for the other form may be a feature due not to the natural usage of the author, but to a studied imitation of the earlier historical style. Similarly in Daniel (excluding of course the Aramaic portion, from 2, 4[b] to 7, 28), וַ is constantly employed, though in chs. 8–12 a few instances of the perfect are met with[3]. There is only

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quentative forms abound (the parallel clause has יורנו); and as Isaiah evidently desires his hearers to be led by the contemplation of certain facts (*v.* 24 f.) to reflect upon their cause, it is natural that these should have been mentioned first.

[1] In the Psalm-passages, due probably to lateness.

In some passages where, at first sight, the use of the perfect seems anomalous, it must be explained in a frequentative sense, § 120; this is certainly the case in Ex. 36, 29 f. (notice יהיו). Nu. 10, 17 f. 21 f. 25 (notice the *participles* in Onqelos: cf. above, p. 146, *note*). 1 Sa. 2, 22 (notice יעשון). 16, 14[b] (observe the partcp. *v.* 15). 27, 9 (cf. יהיה). 2 Sa. 16, 13 וְעִפַּר בָּעָפָר (notice the partcp. הֹלֵךְ: Targ. וּמַשְׁדֵי). 19, 19 (but it is doubtful if the text here is correct: see the writer's note *ad loc.*). 20, 12 (continuation of הבא, § 117); probably also in the following, Gen. 34, 5. 37, 3 (cf. 1 Sa. 2, 19). Nu. 21, 15 ונשען. ונשקפה 20 (pf. § 103: *used to look* or *looketh*, cf. § 120 *Obs.*: Onq. וּמִסְתַּמֵּיךְ and וּמִסְתַּכְּיָא). 1 Sa. 5, 7. 17, 34 f. (cf. p. 122). 24, 11 (text probably corrupt: read either ויאמר, or, with LXX, וַאֲמַאֵן). Isa. 40, 6 (ואמר, cf. 57, 14: but LXX, Vulg. וְאֹמַר). Ps. 26, 3[b] (cf. 4[b]. 5[b]). 80, 13 (cf. the impff. *v.* 14). But Ex. 36, 1 ועשה is no doubt future (continuation of 35, 30 ff.).

[2] The list given by Smend, on 40, 36, is far from exhaustive.

[3] Viz. 8, 7. 10, 7. 12, 5 (but cf. 8, 2. 3. 10, 5. 8); 10, 1. 14. In 8,

one book in the Old Testament in which this state of things is reversed, and the perfect with simple *waw* obtains a marked and indeed almost exclusive preponderance. In the whole of Qohéleth וַ occurs not more than *three* times, 1, 17. 4, 1. 7, whereas the other construction is of repeated occurrence[1]. This circumstance, estimated in the light of what is *uniformly* observable in other parts of the Old Testament, is of itself, though naturally it does not stand alone, a strong indication of the date at which that book must have been composed. In the Song of Songs וַ occurs but twice, 6, 1: in this book, however, there is very little occasion for *either* form being used, and in fact the perfect with *waw* occurs only twice likewise (2, 3. 10), a circumstance too slight to base an argument upon.

134. Exactly as the perfect with simple *waw* is in Hebrew superseded, and in fact almost banished from the language, by the imperfect with *waw* consecutive, so the impf. with

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4[b] we have evidently two frequentatives, cf. יִשְׁמְרוּ; *v.* 12 the perfects follow תִּשְׁלַךְ (§ 113. 2, 3); and *vv.* 11. 27. 9, 5 (cf. 1 Ki. 8, 47). 10, 15 are to be explained by § 132.

[1] Chiefly in chs. 2. 3, 22. 4, 1. 7, 8, 17. 9, 16—just in the narrative of successive experiences and resolutions, where וַ might have been expected (see Dt. 1–3. Neh. 2. 13. Ps. 55, 7. 77, 11: cf. 78, 59. 65. 106, 23. Ez. 20), and where the connexion was so strongly felt by our translators that in 13 out of 21 cases in 1st pers. they render by *so, then* etc., which elsewhere, § 74, is used for וַ. The anonymous author of a *Treatise on the Authorship of Ecclesiastes* (London, 1880) deserves credit for his industry and independence; but, though able to shew that several of its linguistic peculiarities may be paralleled by *isolated* passages in earlier writings, he fails to account for their co-existence and repetition: a method which would prove that the style of Esther did not differ from that of Genesis cannot be a sound one. His contention that the *bare* pf. may have a freq. sense (pp. 192–4, 220) cannot certainly be sustained: the fact that it may be used to *narrate* recurrent events (grouping them as one) is no more a proof that it *expresses* their recurrency than the use of the aorist in, e. g. Hdt. 5, 92, 21 (τοιοῦτος δή τις ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο· πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἐστέρησε), can shew that it bears there the sense of the impf.

simple *waw*, although not quite to the same extent, is yet in the great majority of cases superseded by the pf. with *waw* consecutive. Allusion has been already made (§ 116) to the rarity with which two imperfects are found united by וְ, after conjunctions like פֶּן or אִם: although it is not so uncommon to find them coupled in this way when they bear a frequentative, future, or jussive sense, yet the other construction is still decidedly preferred, and the occurrence of *two* imperfects must even then, comparatively speaking, be termed exceptional. In general the imperfect is only repeated when it is desired to lay some particular stress on the verb, or, as before, in order to combine synonyms: the repetition is also more frequent in the poetical than in the historical books. Examples in a future or jussive sense:—Gen. 1, 9. 26. 9, 27. 17, 2. 22, 17. 27, 29. 31. Ex. 24, 7. 26, 24. Nu. 14, 12. 21, 27. Dt. 17, 13 (=19, 20. 21, 21). 30, 12 f. Josh. 7, 3, cf. 9. Jud. 7, 3. 13, 8 al.; Isa. 41, 11. 15. 22. 42, 6. 14. 21. 23. 44, 7. 45, 24. 25. 46, 4. 5. 47, 11. 49, 8 etc. As a frequentative, however, this repetition of an imperfect is considerably rarer: —Ex. 23, 8 (=Dt. 16, 19). Isa. 40, 30. 44, 16 f. 46, 6 f. 59, 7. Ps. 25, 9. 37, 40. 49, 9. 59, 5. 7. 73, 8. 83, 4. 97, 3. See also § 84.

CHAPTER X.

The Participle [1].

135. The participle is in form a noun, but one partaking at the same time of the nature of the verb, inasmuch as it declares not the fixed and settled embodiment of an attribute in an individual object, but the *continuous manifestation*, actively or passively, as the case may be, of the idea expressed by the root. It predicates, therefore, a *state*, either (actively) constituted directly and essentially by the action or actions necessary to produce it, or (passively) conceived as the enduring result of a particular act. עָשׁוּק designates simply the possessor of the attribute of oppressiveness, whether shewing it at the moment of speaking or not: עוֹשֵׁק describes one who is actually exhibiting it; עָשׁוּק one in whom a condition resulting from one or more definite acts is being experienced. So שָׁכֵן is *a dweller* or *resident*, שִׁכֵּן *dwelling*; אָסִיר *a prisoner* (the condition conceived generally), אָסוּר *emprisoned* (the condition conceived with reference to the action producing it). Possessing thus a distinct verbal force, the participle admits of being used where neither of the two special 'tenses' would be suitable, in the frequently recurring cases, namely, where stress is to be laid on the *continuance* of the action described. In itself it expresses no difference of time, the nature of the 'tenses' not favouring, as in Greek, the growth of a separate form corresponding to

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[1] The aim of the present chapter is not to treat the syntax of the participle under all its aspects, but only in so far as it occupies a place, in its function as *predicate*, by the side of the two tenses.

each; and the period to which an action denoted by it is to be referred, is implied, not in the participle, but in the connexion in which it occurs. The Hebrew authors avail themselves of it very freely, but at the same time with such limitations and reserve that (as compared, e. g. with Syriac) it rarely fails of effect: its descriptive power is great; and if the narrative, strictly so called, of the O. T. owes much of its life and variety to the use of the bare imperfect (§§ 30, 31), many of the instances immediately following will shew to what an extent the truthful and animated representation of particular scenes is due to the appropriate use of the participle.

It is used accordingly—

(1) Of past time, whether independently to emphasize the duration of a given state—for instance, of a particular behaviour or frame of mind—or, with more immediate reference to the main narrative, to shew (if the expression may be allowed) the figures moving in the background: it is thus the form adopted commonly in 'circumstantial' clauses for the purpose of bringing before the eye the scene in which some fresh transaction is to be laid. Thus Gen. 13, 7 the Canaanite and the Perizzite אָז יֹשֵׁב was then *dwelling* in the land. 37, 7 and behold, אֲנַחְנוּ מְאַלְּמִים we were *binding* sheaves in the field. 41, 1–3 (the progressive stages of a dream). 42, 23 that Joseph was *hearkening* (i. e. understood). Dt. 4, 12. Jud. 7, 13. 9, 43. 14, 4 for he was *seeking* an occasion etc. 1 Sa. 1, 13. 9, 11 הֵם עֹלִים *they* were *going up*, when they found. 13, 16. 2 Sa. 1, 6 and lo Saul נִשָּׁעָן עַל חֲנִיתוֹ ἐρηρεδμένος. 12, 19 that his servants מתלחשים were *whispering*. 17, 17 (§ 120). 1 Ki. 1, 40. 22, 10. 12. 20 (*was saying* on this wise: cf. 3, 22. 26). Instances of *tableaux:* 2 Sa. 6, 14. 15. 13, 34. 15, 18. 23. 30. 16, 5. Of the use of the participle in circumstantial clauses, sufficient examples will be found in §§ 159, 160, 169.

(2) Of present time similarly: Gen. 4, 10. 16, 8b from

Sarai my mistress אָנֹכִי בֹּרַחַת am I *fleeing*. 37, 16 tell me איפה הם רעים where they are *shepherding*. Nu. 11, 27 Eldad and Medad מתנבאים are *prophesying* in the camp. Jud. 17, 9 אנכי הולך. 18, 18b. 1 Sa. 14, 11. Isa. 1, 7 your land, זרים אכלים אותה strangers are *devouring* it. 41, 17 מבקשים. Jer. 7, 17 f. 25, 31 נִשְׁפָּט הוּא[1]. 37, 13. Ps. 3, 3. 4, 7. 42, 8. 45, 2. 56, 3. And in Dt., in accordance with the situation presupposed by that book, 4, 5. 7, 1 whither *ye are going* to possess it: also 4, 1 אשר אנכי מְלַמֵּד אתכם which *I am teaching* you. 4, 40 which I מְצַוְּךָ am commanding thee this day. 5, 1. 8, 5 etc.

When there is nothing to imply that the state denoted by the ptcp. extends beyond the moment of speaking, the force of the phrase is as nearly as possible that of the true English present[2]:—Jud. 9, 36 the shadow of the mountains *thou seest* as men. 2 Sa. 18, 27. 1 Ki. 2, 16. 20 אָנֹכִי שֹׁאֶלֶת. 22. Jer. 1, 11. 13 al.

Obs. Less frequently, particularly in the earlier books, to denote not a continuous state, but a fact liable to *recur* (which, in past and present alike, is more properly expressed by the *impf.*, §§ 30–33): Gen. 39, 3. 6. 22 (contrast 1 Sa. 14, 47. 18, 5). Ex. 13, 15. 1 Ki. 3, 2 (8, 5 is different). 22, 44 and often מְגַבְּחִים. Esth. 2, 11. 13 באה. 14. 3, 2.

It is used, however, in the pregnant delineation of a *fixed character*, for which, with such words as אוהב, שונא, יודע, בומה, it is even better adapted than the impf.: Pr. 10, 5. 17 מתעה. 11, 13. 15. 17. 12, 1. 10. 13, 3. 4. 24 etc. Jer. 17, 10 חקר לב = *καρδιογνώστης*. Nah. 1, 2.

The ptcp., it should be remembered, may be represented by the English 'present' in three separate cases, which need to be distinguished:

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[1] Lit. is *in a state of controversy*: cf. 2 Sa. 19, 10 נָדוֹן, Job 23, 7 נוֹכָח, Ex. 2, 13 נִצִּים, and the common נִלְחָם; also נַעֲנָה Ez. 14, 7.

[2] It is worth noticing that a similar principle appears to have determined the form by which present time is expressed in Greek: in the present tense, the stem is variously expanded and strengthened for the purpose, most probably, of implying duration, as opposed to what is merely momentary (*λαμβάνω, λείπω* by the side of *ἔ-λαβ-ον, ἔ-λιπ-ον*). See Curtius, *The Greek Verb*, p. 10 (Engl. Tr.).

1. when it expresses real duration (Ps. 7, 12. 19, 2. 29, 5. 7); 2. when it is in apposition to a preceding subst. (18, 34 f. (that) *maketh*. 65, 7 f.); 3. when it denotes a general truth (37, 12. 21. 26). This last usage is a mark of the later period of the language: even Ps. 34, 8. 21. 23. 69, 34. 145, 15 f. 146, 7–9. 147, 6. 9. 11 will be felt to differ from Pr. 10, 5 etc. cited above; and the earlier Psalmists cast their descriptions of the Divine dealings into a different form.

(3) The ptcp. is used, lastly, of future time (the *fut. instans*), which it represents as already beginning: hence, if the event designated can only in fact occur after some interval, it asserts forcibly and suggestively the certainty of its approach. In the latter case, however, its use is (naturally) pretty much restricted to announcements of the Divine purpose; but even then, whether an imminent or still distant realization be what is intended, is not contained in the form employed, but remains for the event to disclose. When applied to the future, the ptcp. is very frequently strengthened by an introductory הִנֵּה.

Gen. 6, 17 and I, הִנְנִי מֵבִיא behold *I am bringing* etc.; the same formula often: 15, 14 the nation which they shall serve דָּן אָנֹכִי *I am judging*. 17, 19 Sarah thy wife יֹלֶדֶת *will bear* thee a son. 18, 17. 19, 13 for we *are destroying* (are about to destroy) this place. 41, 25b עֹשֶׂה. 28b. Ex. 9, 3 behold the hand of Yahweh הוֹיָה. 18. 10, 4. Dt. 1, 20. 25 which Yahweh thy God נֹתֵן is *giving* us; so constantly in this book: 4, 14 and often אתם עוברים. 1 Sa. 3, 11. 12, 16 which Yahweh *is doing* before your eyes. 19, 11 מָחָר אַתָּה מוּמָת. 20, 36 which I *am about* to shoot. 2 Sa. 12, 23b. 20, 21 מֻשְׁלָךְ (after הנה). 1 Ki. 13, 2 הנה־בן נולד לו. 3 נקרע. 2 Ki. 2, 3. 7, 2c. 22, 20; in the prophets continually: Isa. 3, 1. 5, 5. 7, 14 הרה ויולדת בן. 10, 23. 33. 13, 17. 26, 21 (Mic. 1, 3). 37, 7. 43, 19 הִנְנִי עֹשֶׂה etc. See also § 137.

Obs. 1. But the participle, after הנה, does not necessarily refer to the future: whether it does so or not in a particular case must be determined by a regard to the context, and to the signification borne by that particle. הנה introduces something specially arresting the attention; accordingly

the ptcp. following it may, when linked to a preceding narrative by וְ, describe a scene in the past, as Jud. 9, 43. 11, 34. 1 Ki. 19, 5. Ez. 47, 1; or it may describe an occurrence in the present, Jud. 9, 36. 1 Sa. 14, 33; in a passage such as Isa. 24, 1, however, there would be no motive for the combination, if the past were referred to.

Obs. 2. The copula must sometimes be conceived in a jussive or conditional sense: Isa. 12, 5 Kt. מְיֻדַּעַת זֹאת *be this* made known in all the earth, and (often) with בָּרוּךְ and אָרוּר; in a real, or virtual, apodosis Jer. 2, 22 נְכִתָּם. Ps. 27, 3^{b} (§ 143). Job 23, 7 there an upright man *would be* disputing with him (§ 142), and after לוּ, § 145.

(4) As a rule the subject *precedes* the ptcp., the opposite order being exceptional, and only adopted when a certain stress falls naturally on the idea conveyed by the verbal form (for instance, in assigning a reason after כִּי): Gen. 18, 17 המכסה אני. Nu. 11, 29 המקנא אתה לי. Ez. 8, 6 הֲרֹאֶה אַתָּה. 9, 8; Gen. 3, 5 כי יודע אלהים. 19, 13. 27, 46 אם (see also § 137). 30, 1. 41, 32. Jud. 2, 22. 8, 4. 19, 18. 1 Sa. 3, 9. 13 כי שפט אני. 19, 2. 23, 10. 2 Sa. 15, 27 (as Ez. 8, 6,—if the text be correct). Isa. 36, 11 כי שומעים אנחנו. 48, 13 קרא אני. 52, 12. Jer. 1, 12. 3, 6. 38, 14 שואל אני. 26 (of past time). 44, 29.

Obs. In many of these cases the subject is a pronoun: and in Aramaic, as in the idiom of the Mishnah, this usage is extended much further, a regular *present tense* being formed by the union of the pronouns of the first and second persons with the participle into a single word. But in Biblical Hebrew the parts are quite distinct; and the predicate is able accordingly to receive a separate emphasis of its own, for which in this compound idiom there is no scope. On the usage of the Mishnah, see Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 40; Strack and Siegfried, *Lehrbuch der Neuhebräischen Sprache und Litteratur*, 1884, p. 82.

It is in order to reproduce as closely as possible the Aramaic form אֲמִינָא—אֲמֵין אָנָא being contracted from אָמַר אָנָא (Dan. 4, 4)—most probably used by Christ, that in Delitzsch's N. T. λέγω ὑμῖν (after ἀμὴν) is rendered by אֹמֵר אֲנִי (which does not so occur in O. T.): see the *Luth. Zeitschrift*, 1856, p. 423, or the *Academy*, Nov. 1879, p. 395 (where S. John's ἀμὴν ἀμὴν is explained as due to the attempt to represent the phrase in Greek letters).

(5) Occasionally the idea of duration conveyed by the ptcp. is brought into fuller prominence, and defined more

precisely, by the addition of the *substantive verb*. Two cases may be distinguished, according, namely, as the state thus described is conceived implicitly in its relation to some other event, or stands upon an independent footing. Of the former, some four or five instances will be found in most of the earlier books: the latter is rarer. But altogether the more *frequent* use of the combination is characteristic of the later writers—in the decadence of a language, the older forms are felt to be insufficient, and a craving for greater distinctness manifests itself: the rarer, however, its occurrence in the earlier books, the more carefully it deserves notice.

Gen. 4, 17. 37, 2 הָיָה רֹעֶה *was shepherding* (at the time when the events about to be described took place). 39, 22. 1 Sa. 2, 11 הָיָה מְשָׁרֵת. 7, 10. 18, 14. 29. 23, 26 וַיְהִי . . . נֶחְפָּז 2 Sa. 3, 6. 8, 15. 19, 10. 1 Ki. 5, 1. 24. 12, 6. 20, 40 (let the student note instances in 2 Ki. for himself!). Jer. 26, 18. 20. Job 1, 14.

Some clear examples of the second usage are Gen. 1, 6 וִיהִי מַבְדִּיל *and let it be* (permanently) *dividing*. Ruth 2, 19. Nu. 14, 33. Dt. 9, 7 from the day etc. until this place מַמְרִים הֱיִיתֶם *ye have* been rebelling; so *vv.* 22. 24. 31, 27[1]; 28, 29 וְהָיִיתָ מְמַשֵּׁשׁ and thou *shalt be groping* etc. Isa. 2, 2. 9, 15? 14, 2[b]. 30, 20 and thine eyes *shall be beholding* thy teachers. 59, 2. Ps. 10, 14. 122, 2. With a *passive* ptcp., 1 Ki. 13, 24 Nah. 3, 11. Jer. 14, 16. 18, 23. Ps. 73, 14 ואהי נגוע. Josh. 10, 26 ויהיו תלוים.

Contrast examples from Nehemiah[2], 1, 4[b]. 2, 13. 15. 3, 26.

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[1] The idiom in these four passages may be attributed fairly to the desire for emphasis, which is evident: 2 Sa. 3, 17 הייתם מבקשים is an early parallel, cf. also 7, 6. (Contr. Ryssel, *De Elohistae Pentateuchi Sermone*, pp. 27, 58.)

[2] But it does not appear to be correct to say here it 'nihil differre a verbo finito' (Ryssel, p. 59): it is used clearly with the intention of giving prominence to the idea of duration, though an earlier writer would not have done this so persistently, or confined himself so much to the same idiom. Comp. Mark 13, 25 ἔσονται ἐκπίπτοντες: Winer, § 45. 5.

4, 10. 5, 18 היה נעשׂה. 6, 14b. 19. 13, 5. 22. 26: Esth. 1, 22. 9, 21 with להיות.

(6) As a rule, the subject to the ptcp. is in Hebrew expressed separately: but scattered instances are met with in which (as in 3rd pers. of the verb, p. 7) this is not the case. The subject to be supplied may be either indefinite, or definite—most commonly the former, except when the ptcp. is introduced by הנה, the subject itself having been named immediately before. (1) Gen. 39, 22a עשׂים[1]. Ex. 5, 16 and bricks, אמרים לנו עשׂו *say they* to us, Make ye. Isa. 21, 11 קֹרֵא *one is calling*. 24, 2 the lender כַּאֲשֶׁר נשׁא בו as he to whom *any one* lendeth[2]. 26, 3b. 30, 24 which זֹרֶה *one is sifting* etc. 32, 12 סופדים. 33, 4b שׁקק. Jer. 33, 5 באים. 38, 23 מוציאים. Ez. 8, 12 כי אמרים. 13, 7. Job 41, 18[3]. Neh. 6, 10b כי באים. (2) with הנה Gen. 24, 30. 37, 15[4] and a man found him והנה תעה בשׂדה. 41, 1. 1 Sa. 10, 11. 15, 12. 16, 11. 30, 3. 16. Isa. 29, 8. Ez. 7, 10 al. הנה באה (cf. Ex. 7, 15. 8, 16 הנה יוצא). 19, 13. Amos 7, 1; without הנה, Gen. 32, 7. Dt. 33, 3. 1 Sa. 6, 3[5]. 17, 25. 20, 1. Isa. 33, 5a שׁכן. 40, 19b. Ps. 22, 29b ומושׁל *and* he *ruleth*. 33, 5. 37, 26. 97, 10. Neh. 9, 3b. 37b[6].

Obs. 1. It is sometimes uncertain whether the ptcp. may have been conceived by the writer as an independent predicate, or in apposition to

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[1] Expressed as vaguely as possible, in intentional contrast to 22b, where (as Roorda, § 379, remarks) the use of היה allows an emphasis to the *pronoun*.

[2] A comparison of Dt. 24, 11 will make the construction clear.

[3] (When) *one approacheth him* (cf. § 126) with the sword, it continueth (holdeth) not: cf. 2 Sa. 23, 3 (§ 125). Pr. 28, 27. חרב is the 'accusative of nearer limitation,' defining the *manner* in which the approach is made: cf. Mic. 7, 2 חרם. Ps. 64, 8 חץ (Ew. §§ 279c, 283a).

[4] In accordance with the use of הנה in other cases, e. g. 16, 14. 18, 9. 1 Ki. 21, 18.

[5] But here אתּם has prob. dropped out after משׁלחים; cf. LXX, Pesh.

[6] Comp. Pusey on Hab. 1, 5; Delitzsch on Job 25, 2 (which passage itself, however, it seems better to construe, with Hitzig, as explained, § 161, *Obs.* 2); Ew. § 200. Some additional instances might be given from the books not named: but they would not be numerous.

a subject previously named, or in his mind: Isa. 40, 29 (prob. the latter). Job 12, 17. 19–24. Ps. 107, 40; and of course Am. 5, 8[a] (notice the *cstr. st.*).

Obs. 2. A strange extension (as it would seem) of this usage is met with occasionally: Jer. 2, 17 בעת מוליכך in the time *of* (*him*) *leading thee* in the wilderness. Ez. 27, 34 עֵת נִשְׁבַּרְתְּ in the time *of* (*thee*) *broken* (=what time thou art broken: but here, in all probability, עֵתָּה נִשְׁבַּרְתְּ should be read, with LXX, Targ. Vulg. and most moderns. Cf. 36, 13 יען אמרים because of (men) saying to you; but here also it is doubtful whether the true reading is not אֹמְרִים, in accordance with Ez.'s usual construction of יען, the *plena scriptio* having been introduced by error: cf. *Notes on Samuel*, pp. xxxiii f., 16, 22). Gen. 38, 29 כמשיב is so destitute of Biblical analogy to support it[1] that it is difficult not to think that כְּהָשִׁיב should be restored (the suffix omitted, as 19, 29. 24, 30 and elsewhere)[2]. At the same time, the construction of the text is one tolerably common in the Mishnah; and it is *possible* that it may be an isolated anticipation of the later usage. See Weiss, *Studien über die Sprache der Mischna* [in Hebrew], Wien, 1867 (referred to by Ryssel, p. 29), who cites (p. 89) *Terumoth* 4, 8 בְּנָרוּעַ (=בהיותו ירוע: the negative in the next line is וכשאינו ירוע); 10, 1 and elsewhere בְּנוֹתֵן טַעַם = when it gives a flavour; *Shabbath* 2, 5 כְּחָם עַל הַנֵּר (=כהיות חם) when he attends to the lamp, etc.

Obs. 3. Instances even occur of an *impersonal* use of the passive ptcp.: at least the passages following are most probably to be so explained: Ps. 87, 3 מְדֻבָּר בָּךְ *it is spoken* (=one speaketh) of thee glorious things[3]. Mal. 1, 11 מְקֻטָּר מֻגָּשׁ *lit.* it is incensed, it is offered to my name. Ez. 40, 17. 41, 18. 19. 46, 23 עֲשׂוּי.

(7) When the *article* is joined to the ptcp., it ceases to be a mere predicate, and acquires altogether a new emphasis and force: indeed, inasmuch as the article marks that which is *known* and of which something hitherto unknown is pre-

[1] Ps. 74, 5 (even though, as is less probable, יורע be neuter). Isa. 17, 5[b] are not parallel.

[2] Hitz., followed by Dillm., adds 40, 10 (כהיות פ'=כפורחת), in which case the verse must be rendered 'and it (cas. pend.), *as it was budding*, its blossoms shot forth:' but the comparative sense of כ (Rashi, A. V.) seems simpler and more natural.

[3] The *accus.*, as frequently with a passive *verb*, e. g. Job 22, 9 וזרועות יתומים ידכא and *it is bruised* (=one bruiseth) the arms of the orphans. See Ewald, § 295[b]; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 121. 1.

dicated[1], it is rather to be regarded as the *subject*[2]. Dt. 3, 21 עֵינֶיךָ הָרֹאוֹת thine eyes—not *were seeing* רֹאוֹת, but—were *those which saw*: so 4, 3. 11, 7; 8, 18 ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδοὺς σοί. Isa. 14, 27 יָדוֹ הַנְּטוּיָה his hand is *that which is stretched out* (which was spoken of, *v.* 26). 66, 9 אני המשביר. Zech. 7, 6b ye are *the eaters* (alluded to, *v.* 6a). Gen. 2, 11. 45, 12b. Nu. 7, 2. 1 Sa. 4, 16. Ez. 20, 29. Once or twice, peculiarly, after אשר: 1 Ki. 12, 8 who were *those which stood* before him. 21, 11.

It need scarcely be remarked that in passages such as Ps. 18, 33 the article is resumptive,—32b and who a rock except our God? *the God who* girdeth me etc. 48. 19, 11 הַנֶּחֱמָדִים *which* (10b) *are more desirable* than gold [A. V. is the rendering of נחמדים הם]. 33, 15. 49, 7 *who trust* . . . (taking עקבי 6b in a personal sense). 94, 10b. Job 6, 16. 28, 4 הַנִּשְׁכָּחִים *men who are* forgotten etc. (in appos. with the subj. of the preceding פָּרַץ, conceived collectively). 30, 3 *men who* gnaw the dry ground. 4. Gen. 49, 21 *he that giveth* etc. (in apposition with נפתלי). Cf. Isa. 40, 22 (in appos. with a subj. implicit in the prophet's thought). 26. 44, 26b–28. Amos 5, 8b–9.

Obs. A unique form of expression occurs Isa. 11, 9 כַּמַּיִם לְיָם מְכַסִּים *lit.* as the waters, coverers to the sea. Construed thus as a noun, but with the ל of reference, not a following genit., the ptcp. retains still the freshness of the verb, and has an independence which is commoner in Arabic than in Hebrew. The nearest parallel in O. T. is Nu. 10, 25 (cited by Ewald, § 292e) מְאַסֵּף לְכָל־הַמַּחֲנֹת: cf. also 25, 18 צוררים הם לכם. Dt. 4, 42 והוא לא שנא לו and he being *a not-hater to him* aforetime. Isa. 14, 2. But the peculiar compactness and force of Isaiah's phrase is due to the position which he has boldly given it at the end: Habakkuk in his imitation (2, 14) is satisfied to use an ordinary Hebrew idiom. In Arabic comp. وَهِيَ مُجَانِبَةٌ لَهُ *eâ illum vitante*, and (where the *order* is the same) Qor. 15, 9 إِنَّا لَهُ لَحَافِظُونَ lo, of that we (will be) keepers. 12, 81. (Ewald, *Gr. Arab.* § 652; Wright, *Arab. Gr.* ii. § 31 *rem.*)

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[1] Hence its name with the Jewish grammarians, הִא הַיְדִיעָה.

[2] Comp. Mark 13, 11; and Moulton's note on Winer, § 18. 7. See also below, § 199.

CHAPTER XI.

Hypotheticals.

136. We arrive at the last part of our subject—the forms assumed in Hebrew by *hypothetical* or conditional sentences. In general, it will be seen, these involve no fresh principles; so that, as the nature of the tenses, and the constructions of which they are capable, have been already fully explained, it will be sufficient in most cases simply to enunciate their different types, without further elucidation beyond such as is afforded by illustrative examples.

I. *If I see him* (the time at which this is imagined as possibly taking place not being further indicated, but belonging either to the real, or to the potential, future), *I will let him know.*

With an *imperfect* in the protasis. The apodosis may then be expressed:

(*a*) By וְ consecutive and the perfect; so very frequently:—Gen. 18, 26 . . . . אִם אֶמְצָא . . . . וְנָשָׂאתִי *if I shall find* (or simply *if I find*) fifty righteous in Sodom, *I will pardon* the whole place for their sakes. 24, 8. 28, 20 f. (cf. Nu. 21, 2. Jud. 11, 30 f.). 32, 9 אִם־יָבוֹא עֵשָׂו אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה הָאַחַת וְהִכָּהוּ וְהָיָה וג׳ *if* Esau *come* to one camp and smite[1] it, the remaining camp *will* escape. 18 f. (כִּי). Ex. 19, 5. 23, 22 . . . אִם־שָׁמוֹעַ תִּשְׁמַע בְּקֹלוֹ

[1] § 115, p. 130. Observe that it is only the sense which shews that the apodosis begins with והיה, and not with והכהו. The same ambiguity of form occurs constantly in this type of hypothetical sentence in Hebrew.

כִּי־יִשְׁאָלְךָ ... וְאָמַרְתָּ וג׳ ... וְאָבַדְתִּי אֶת־אֹיְבֶיךָ. Nu. 30, 7 f. Dt. 6, 20 f. כִּי יִמְכֹּר לְךָ אָחִיךָ וְעָבַדְךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים (see Ex. 21, 2). 19, 8 f. 11 f. (כִּי). Jud. 6, 37. 1 Sa. 14, 9 f. 1 Ki. 1, 52[b] וְאִם־רָעָה תִמָּצֵא־ בּוֹ וָמֵת. 8, 44 f. (כִּי). 46–49 ... כִּי יֶחֶטְאוּ ... וְאִנַּפְתָּ בָם וּנְתַתָּם ... וְהֵשִׁיבוּ אֶל־לִבָּם ... וְשָׁבוּ וְהִתְחַנְּנוּ ... וְשָׁבוּ ... וְהִתְפַּלְלוּ ... וְשָׁמַעְתָּ וג׳ *when* they sin, and thou art angry with them, and thou givest them up etc. ... and they return ... and pray ..., *then* hear thou etc. Ps. 89, 31–33 אִם יַעְזְבוּ ... וּפָקַדְתִּי. Job 8, 18. Qoh. 4, 11 etc.

Obs. 1. The verb is sometimes separated from the וְ, and so lapses into the imperfect:—Ex. 8, 22 (§ 124). Josh. 20, 5. 2 Chr. 7, 13 f. ואני (after a long protasis); Pr. 19, 19. Job 14, 7—both ועור.

Obs. 2. Note that in A.V. *then* of the apodosis represents nearly always וְ, not אָז: the latter introduces the apodosis only very rarely, where a special emphasis is desired, Isa. 58, 14. Pr. 2, 5; Job 9, 31 (§ 138, i. *β*), or in a different case, § 139.

(*β*) By the impf. (without וְ); this likewise is very frequent, and not distinguishable in meaning from *α*[1]:—Gen. 18, 28. 30 לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה אִם־אֶמְצָא שָׁם שְׁלֹשִׁים. 42, 37. Ex. 21, 2 (כי). Dt. 12, 20. 13, 2–4. 7–9. 20, 19 (all כי). Jud. 13, 16. 1 Ki. 1, 52[a] אִם יִהְיֶה לְבֶן־חַיִל לֹא יִפֹּל מִשַּׂעֲרָתוֹ אַרְצָה. Isa. 1, 19. 3, 6 f. (כי). Ob. 5, cf. Jer. 49, 9[a] (9[b], pf. as *γ*). Jer. 38, 15 (כי). Ps. 75, 3 (כי). 132, 12. Pr. 4, 16 unless they do evil לֹא יִשָׁנוּ they *do not* (freq., or *cannot*) sleep.

(*β**) The simple imperfect may of course be replaced if necessary by a voluntative or imperative:—Dt. 12, 29 f. (כי). 17, 14 f. 1 Sa. 20, 21. 21, 10 if thou wilt take *that*[2], take it. 2 Ki. 2, 10 etc.

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[1] The type (*α*) is, however, used by preference, where there is scope for it: (*β*) is used chiefly (1) when the apodosis precedes the protasis; (2) when the apodosis begins with לֹא—both cases in which the perf. with וְ could manifestly not be employed (see 1 Ki. 52[a] and [b], cited above).

[2] אוהה is here emphatic: cf. 18, 17. 20, 9. Isa. 43, 22. Jud. 14, 3; also Ex. 21, 8 Qrê לו (in contrast to לבנו, *v.* 9; comp. the position of אל עיר, 2 Sa. 17, 13).

With וְ prefixed, very rare:—Gen. 13, 9. 2 Sa. 12, 8.

(γ) By the perfect alone[1] (expressing the certainty and suddenness with which the result immediately accompanies the occurrence of the protasis):—Nu. 32, 23 וְאִם־לֹא תַעֲשׂוּן כֵּן הִנֵּה חֲטָאתֶם and if you do not so, see you *have sinned!* 1 Sa. 2, 16 and if not, לָקַחְתִּי *I take* it by force! cf. Ez. 33, 6 נִלְכָּד. Hos. 12, 12 (היו in apod., 'of the certain future'). Job 20, 12–14: comp. 9, 27 f.[2] Cf. after the indefinite אֲשֶׁר Gen. 24, 14 הֹכַחְתָּ.

Obs. Compare the manner in which the perfect is found, not indeed in a formal apodosis, but still with a reference to some preceding conditional clause—implicitly if not explicitly stated. Lev. 13, 25 פרחה. 17, 3 f. the apodosis proper ends at והוא: then follow the words דם שפך i.e. *he has* (in the case assumed) *shed* blood (cf. § 17). Nu. 19, 13 טמא. 20. 15, 25 והם הביאו (when the directions *v.* 24 have been observed, they *will have* brought their offering). Ez. 33, 5.

(δ) By a participle:—Gen. 4, 7. Lev. 21, 9.

Without any verb in the apodosis:—Gen. 4, 24 וְ. Ps. 8, 4 f. 120, 7. Qoh. 10, 11 וְ.

Slightly different are 1 Sa. 6, 9 if it goeth up by Bethshe-

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[1] With this use of the perfect compare in Greek Plat. Krat. 432 A *ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δέκα ἢ ὅστις βούλει ἄλλος ἀριθμός, ἐὰν ἀφέλῃς τι ἢ προσθῇς, ἕτερος εὐθὺς γέγονε.* Soph. Phil. 1280 *εἰ δὲ μή τι πρὸς καιρὸν λέγων Κυρῶ πέπαυμαι.* The *aorist* is also similarly met with, as Il. xvii. 99. Phileb. 17 D *ὅταν γὰρ ταῦτα λάβῃς οὕτω, τότε ἐγένου σοφός.* Gorg. 484 etc., on which the remark of Riddell, *Apology of Plato*, p. 154, is worth quoting: 'The subjunctive construction with *ἄν*, not admissible with a past Tense, constrains us to see in the Aorist the expression of an action *instantaneously complete, rather than necessarily past*.' Compare Winer, § 40. 4[b], also 5[b], who quotes Livy xxi. 43 si eundem animum habuerimus, *vicimus*.

In English, the *present* is sometimes used with the same object: Shakespeare, *Ant. and Cl.* ii. 5. 26 If thou say so, villain, thou *kill'st* thy mistress. Milton, *P. L.* 5, 613.

[2] Where, for אם אמרתי, אם אמרי might have been expected, and ought perhaps to be restored; comp., however, the use of the inf. Jud. 19, 9. 2 Sa. 15, 20. Jer. 9, 5. Zeph. 3, 20. Zech. 9, 10[b]. Ps. 23, 6 (ושבתי).

mesh, הוּא עָשָׂה HE *hath done* us this great evil. 1 Ki. 22, 28 if thou returnest לֹא דִבֶּר יי בִּי Yahweh *hath not spoken* by me. Nu. 16, 29. Ez. 14, 9[a]: cf. Luke 11, 20.

Obs. Occasionally the imperfect is thus found in the protasis in reference to *past* time:—Gen. 31, 8 אִם יֹאמַר *if ever* he said . . . , וַיִּלְדוּ then all the flock *would* bear etc. Ex. 40, 37 (apod. וְלֹא יִסָּעוּ); cf. Jud. 12, 5, and the impff. in Job 31, alternating with perff. These differ from Gen. 38, 9. Nu. 21, 9. Jud. 2, 18[a] (כי). Ps. 78, 34, where the *perfect* is used: 'and it came to pass, *if* or *when* the serpents *had* bitten a man, that he looked, and lived,'—the idea of repetition is dropped from the protasis, and retained only in the pff. with ו, which introduce the apodosis.

137. Sometimes the participle is found in the protasis—accompanied or not by יֵשׁ or אֵין: the apodosis may then be introduced by—

(*a*) The perfect and וְ:—Gen. 24, 42 f. אִם־יֶשְׁךָ־נָא מַצְלִיחַ דַּרְכִּי . . . הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי נִצָּב . . . *if* thou art prospering my way . . ., behold, (as) I stand by the spring of water, *let it be* (§ 119 δ), etc.[1] Lev. 3, 7. Jud. 6, 36 f. (וְיָדַעְתִּי=*may I* know, § 119 δ, cf. 39 יהי־נא). 11, 9 אִם מְשִׁיבִים אַתֶּם אוֹתִי . . . וְנָתַן יי אוֹתָם לְפָנָי if you are *going to* bring me back . . ., Yahweh will deliver them up before me.

(*β*) The imperfect:—Lev. 3, 1. 2 Ki. 7, 2. 19 (after הנה).

(*β**) A voluntative or imperative:—Gen. 20, 7. 24, 49. 43, 4, Ex. 33, 15. Jud. 9, 15. Jer. 42, 13 (apod. 15 ועתה).

(*δ*) Another participle:—Ex. 8, 17. 9, 2 f. 1 Sa. 19, 11. Jer. 26, 15.

138. II. *If I have seen him* (i. till any time in the indefinite or more or less remote future: ii. during a period extending up to the moment of speaking, or to a moment otherwise fixed by the context), *I will let him know.* In the first of these cases the sense conveyed by the perfect is hardly distinguishable from that borne by the imperfect, § 136 (though

[1] Notice here the double, and in Jud. 6, 36 f. the *treble*, protasis (one expressed by הנה).

it does not occur so frequently); but it rather contemplates the case assumed *after* its occurrence (*si videro*, § 17, not *si videbo*). Observe that in i. the principal verb is succeeded in the protasis by perfects with *waw* consec. (Gen. 43, 9. Job 11, 13 f.), while in ii. it is succeeded by the impf. and ·וְ.

i. (*α*) With the pf. and *waw* consecutive in the apodosis:—as Gen. 43, 9 אִם לֹא הֲבִיאֹתִיו . . . וְחָטָאתִי si non *reduxero*, per omnem vitam reus *ero* (cf. 42, 37). 47, 6. Jud. 16, 17 אִם גֻּלַּחְתִּי וְסָר מִמֶּנִּי כֹחִי if I am shaven, my strength *will* depart from me. 2 Sa. 15, 33 LXX ἐὰν μὲν διαβῇς μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἔσῃ ἐπ' ἐμὲ εἰς βάσταγμα (where καὶ is really superfluous). 2 Ki. 7, 4 אִם אָמַרְנוּ נָבוֹא הָעִיר וְהָרָעָב בָּעִיר וָמַתְנוּ שָׁם Vulg. sive ingredi *voluerimus* civitatem, fame *moriemur:* sive *manserimus* hic, moriendum nobis est. Mic. 5, 7[b]. Job 7, 4 if (at any time) I lie down, וְאָמַרְתִּי[1] *I say*, When shall I get up? (waiting wearily for the morning). 13 f. when (כִּי) I say etc., וְחִתַּתַנִי *then thou terrifiest me* with dreams. 10, 14 if I sin, thou watchest me. 21, 6.

(*β*) With the impf. alone in the apodosis:—Dt. 32, 41 אִם שַׁנּוֹתִי if (at any time) *I have whet* (or simply *I whet*) my glittering sword וְתֹאחֵז so that[2] my hand takes hold on judgment, אָשִׁיב *I will requite* vengeance etc. Ps. 41, 7. 63, 7. 94, 18 if (at any time) אמרתי *I say*, My foot hath slipped, thy mercy *will hold* (or *holdeth*, freq.) me up. Pr. 9, 12[b] (אם understood from 12[a], exactly as in Job 10, 15[b] from 15[a]; cf. 16, 6. 22, 23[b]). Job 9, 30 f. (וְהִזַּכּוֹתִי, §§ 104, 115; אז, p. 175). With וְ (anomalous) Qoh. 10, 10.

(*β**) With an imperative:—Pr. 25, 21. Job 11, 13 f.

(*γ*) With the perfect alone:—Isa. 40, 7. Jer. 49, 9[b].

And without any verb in the apodosis:—Jer. 14, 18 (וְהִנֵּה). Pr. 24, 14 (וְיֵשׁ).

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[1] Tone as Ps. 28, 1, § 104.

[2] According to §§ 61, 62: were it meant as a *mere* continuation of שנותי, the pf. ואחזה, as the other examples shew, would have been the form employed. (On the *tone* of שנותי, comp. Delitzsch on Job 19, 17.)

ii. As already stated, this class of instances differs from those cited under i. in the nature of the *protasis:* a few examples will make it plain in what the difference consists. The apodosis may commence:—

(*a*) With the perfect and וְ:—Gen. 33, 10. Nu. 5, 27 אִם נִטְמְאָה וַתִּמְעֹל מַעַל וּבָאוּ וגו׳ if she *have* defiled herself *and been faithless, then shall* they come etc. 15, 24 if it *have been* done (the other case follows *v.* 27 in the imperfect), וְעָשׂוּ etc. 35, 22–24 וְאִם ... הֲדָפוֹ and if (in the assumed case) *he have hit* him unexpectedly וַיָּמָת *and he have died,* וְשָׁפְטוּ the congregation *shall* judge.

(*β*) With the imperfect:—Nu. 30, 6. Jer. 33, 25 f. if I have not made a covenant with the day (as I have done), אֶמְאַס I will also reject the seed of Jacob etc. Ez. 33, 9, cf. 8.

(*β**) With a voluntative or imperative:—Jud. 9, 16–19 if ye *have* done honestly (foll. by וְ), rejoice in Abimélekh! 1 Sa. 26, 19. Ps. 7, 4 f. Job 31, 5 f. 9. 20 f. 39 f.

(*γ*) With the perfect alone:—Ez. 3, 19 הִצַּלְתָּ (*wilt have* delivered): cf. Job 33, 23–5.

Obs. The perfect with אם or או is thus met with in *subordinate* hypothetical clauses; so Ex. 21, 36 או נודע but *if it be known* (a case supposed to have occurred under the conditions stated 35[a]). 22, 2 if the sun *have risen.* Lev. 4, 23 si confessus fuerit. 28. 5, 1 או ראה או ידע. 3–5 or when it touches etc. and it be hidden from him, *but he have* (afterwards) *ascertained it* and be guilty, or when etc. (4 propounding a similar possibility) והיה *then it shall be,* when etc. 21–23 או מצא. 13, 2 f. when there is ... and the priest sees it ... and the hair הפך *have turned* white; so repeatedly in this chapter after הנה. Num. 35, 16–18. 20 f. if יהדפנו he hit him in hatred—או השליך whether he *have thrown* something at him insidiously, או הכהו or *have smitten* him with his hand (two alternatives possible under the assumed case of hatred) וימת *and he die,* מות יומת he shall be put to death.

139. III. *If I had seen him, I would have told him* (εἰ εἶδον ἀνήγγειλα ἄν· the protasis is supposed not to have been realized, and consequently the apodosis does not take place). For this case Hebrew uses the *perfect* in both clauses, mostly

after לוּ Jud. 8, 19 if you had kept them alive (which you did not do) לא הרגתי I should not have killed you *οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινα ὑμᾶς* (as I am just going to do: not *I should not kill you οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινον*, which would be אהרג, because Gideon has in his mind the time when the action will have been completed). 13, 23; or (with a negative) לוּלֵי (לוּלֵא) *if not* 14, 18. 1 Sa. 25, 34 as Yahweh liveth ..., כִּי לוּלֵי מִהַרְתְּ וַתָּבֹאתִי כִּי אִם־נוֹתַר (I say) that, unless thou *hadst hastened and come*, that[1] there *had* not *been left* to Nabal etc. (as now there will be left). 2 Sa. 2, 27 as God liveth וג׳ כִּי לוּלֵא דִּבַּרְתָּ כִּי אָז מֵהַבֹּקֶר נַעֲלָה (I say) that, *unless* thou hadst spoken, that then (only) after the morning *would* the people *have gotten themselves up*, etc. 19, 7 (likewise with אז in the apod.). Isa. 1, 9. Ps. 94, 17. 106, 23 (apod. put first, as אמרתי Dt. 32, 26, but being connected with what precedes it appears in the form וַיֹּאמֶר, otherwise it would be אָמַר as in Dt.). 119, 92 (without a verb: apod. introduced by אָז). 124, 1–3[2] (apod. introduced by אֲזַי); rarely after אִם Ps. 73, 15, or (in the later language) after אִלּוּ Esth. 7, 4.

140. Where no apodosis follows, the perfect with לוּ may denote a *wish*—one, however, which has not been realized.

Num. 14, 2 לוּ מַתְנוּ. 20, 3. Josh. 7, 7 וְלוּ הוֹאַלְנוּ וַנֵּשֶׁב. Isa. 48, 18 f. לוּא הִקְשַׁבְתָּ *O that thou hadst* hearkened to my commandments! וַיְהִי and so (= then) thy peace had been like a

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[1] The first כי introduces, as often (e.g. 26, 16. 29, 6. 2 Sa. 3, 35), the assertion following the oath: the second כי is merely *resumptive* of the first, after the clause with לולי; so 2 Sa. 2, 27. 19, 7, and similarly Gen. 22, 16 f. 2 Sa. 3, 9. Jer. 22, 24, and frequently. Elsewhere the אם belongs to, and slightly strengthens, the כי, as 2 Sa. 15, 21 Kt. (but Qrê omits אם, prob. rightly). 2 Ki. 5, 20; also Jud. 15, 7. 1 Sa. 21, 6.

[2] With the pleon. ש here (לולי יהוה שהיה לנו) comp. the Aram. ܠܘܠܐ ܕ *except that* 2 Sa. 2, 27. Ps. 106, 23 (ܠܘܠܐ ܕܡܫܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ?ܕ), אילולי בחיריה *id.* Targ. Ps. 27, 13 and here (אילולי מימרא דיהוה רהוה בסעדנא), and אִילְמָלַי דִּי *id.* Cant. 4, 12. Ps. 106, 23 (אילמלי משה בחיריה רקם ואתקף בצלו קדמיה): also לְוַי דְּ *would that!*

river. 63, 19 לוּא קָרַעְתָּ *O that thou hadst* rent etc. (viz. now, already; the more empassioned expression for, O that thou *wouldst* . . ., § 142).

141. Again, instead of going on regularly to the apodosis, the sentence sometimes breaks off with an aposiopesis, and the result which would have occurred if the protasis had been realized is introduced more emphatically by כִּי עַתָּה *for then, in that case.* Thus Gen. 31, 42 if the God of my father had not been for me—כִּי עַתָּה שִׁלַּחְתָּנִי *for then* (or, uniting this second clause to the first, and so making it into a formal apodosis, *indeed then*[1]) thou *wouldst have* sent me away empty! 43, 10. Nu. 22, 33 (if for אוּלַי we read לוּלֵי, as seems necessary). 1 Sa. 14, 30 (if with LXX לֹא be omitted).

It is evidently only one step further than this for the clause with כי עתה to be found by itself, the actual protasis being suppressed altogether, and only a *virtual* one being pointed to by עתה:—Ex. 9, 15 for *then* (or *else* i.e. if the intention expressed in 14[b], and further expanded in 16, had not existed) שָׁלַחְתִּי אֶת־יָדִי וָאַךְ *I should have* put forth my hand and smitten thee etc. (i.e. instantaneously instead of slowly: for the idea, cf. Ps. 59, 12). 1 Sa. 13, 13 thou hast not kept the commandment of Yahweh; *for then* (if thou hadst done so) הֵכִין he *would have* established thy kingdom. Job 3, 13[a] (16, 7 is different: עתה there resembles עתה in 1 Sa. 14, 30 if we adhere to the Massoretic text, *as the case actually is*). 31, 28 כי alone. Comp. אָז 2 Ki. 13, 19.

142. If under these circumstances the *imperfect* occurs in the protasis, it naturally denotes a condition realizable in the present or the future: where no apodosis follows, we shall then have, in accordance with the context, and the tone in which the words are uttered, the expression of either hope or

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[1] Perhaps, to be sure, this idiom is to be explained simply from the asseverative force of כי (cf. its use after an oath, p. 180, *n.* 1) without the assumption of an aposiopesis.

alarm—either a *wish* or a *fear*[1]—thus Gen. 17, 18 לוּ יִחְיֶה *if* Ishma'el might live before thee! (cf. the imperative 23, 13 לוּ שמעני[2], the jussive 30, 34 לוּ יהי כדברך); and with אִם, Ex. 32, 32 אִם תִּשָּׂא *if* thou wouldst only forgive their sin! Ps. 81, 9. 95, 7b (in both these cases the following verses contain the words to be listened to). 139, 19. Pr. 2, 1. 24, 11.

On the other hand we hear the language of alarm:—Gen. 50, 15 לוּ ישטמנו if he were to hate us! Ex. 4, 1 והן and if they do not believe me!

As before, the protasis may be succeeded by כי עתה:—Job 8, 4–6 (after a triple protasis[3], expressed by אם: כי עתה = *surely then*); and after לוּ, expressing a wish, Job 6, 2 f. *O that* my vexation might be *weighed*... כי עתה יכבד *for then* it *would be* heavier than the sand! comp. אָנָּא, after a wish, expressed by אַחְלַי, אַחְלַי, 2 Ki. 5, 3. Ps. 119, 6.

Or the clause with כי עתה may occur without any actual protasis:—Job 13, 19 *for then* (if there were any one able to contend with me and prove me in the wrong) I *would* be silent and die. Cf. with אָז 3, 13 I should have slept, אָז יָנוּחַ לִי *then* were I at rest; שָׁם 23, 7 *there* (=in that case) an upright man (would be) disputing with him; 32, 22 quickly (if I flattered) *would* my Maker take me away.

143. IV. In some of the instances last cited we may notice that the protasis states a case which might indeed conceivably occur (as Gen. 50, 15), but which may also (as Job 6, 2) be purely imaginary. We are thus conducted to another class of conditional propositions, consisting of an *imperfect*[4] *in both*

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[1] Compare Ps. 41, 9 LXX̄ *μὴ ὁ κοιμώμενος οὐχὶ προσθήσει τοῦ ἀναστῆναι*; where the affirmative answer, always expected when *μὴ οὐ* is employed, is contemplated not with *hope*, but with *alarm*: 'Won't he that is now sick—won't he recover?'

[2] If the text be sound. LXX (*πρὸς ἐμοῦ = on my side*: see 29, 34. 31, 5), Sam. read אם אהה לי שמעני.

[3] So R. V. Most moderns, however, explain 8, 4 by § 127 γ.

[4] It will be remembered that two imperfects have met us before, in the formula *If I see him I will tell him*, *ἐὰν ἴδω ἀναγγελῶ*, and it

clauses, and corresponding to the double optative in Greek, *If I were to see him* (on the mere supposition, be it ever so unlikely or hyperbolical, that I were to see him) *I would tell him.*

Where the ideas contained in the protasis and apodosis respectively are parallel and similar we must render the conditional particle by *if:* where they are contrasted we may, if we please, employ *though.*

With אִם:—Gen. 13, 16 so that אִם־יוּכַל *if* a man *could* number the stars, thy seed also יִמָּנֶה *might be numbered.* Nu. 22, 18 (cf. 1 Ki. 13, 8). Isa. 1, 18 *though* they were as scarlet, they should become white as snow. 10, 22. Amos 5, 22. 9, 2–4 (notice the apod. continued by וְ and pf. 3, 'from there would I search וְלָקַחְתִּים and take them:' so *v.* 4). Ps. 27, 3. 50, 12. 139, 8[a]. 9[a] (8[b]. 9[b] cohort.; cf. Job 16, 6). Job 9, 3. 20. Ct. 8, 7. Jer. 2, 22 though thou wert to wash with potash, thy iniquity נִכְתָּם (would be) ingrained before me. 37, 10 (with a *pf.* after אִם, apparently for the purpose of expressing an extreme case). And with גַּם אִם Qoh. 8, 17.

With כִּי:—Jer. 51, 53 כִּי תַעֲלֶה בָבֶל הַשָּׁמַיִם . . . . מֵאִתִּי יָבֹאוּ שֹׁדְדִים לָהּ. Hos. 13, 15. Ps. 37, 24[a]. 49, 19 f. (apod. חבוא)[1]: with גַּם כִּי Ps. 23, 4. Isa. 1, 15 (with partcp. in apod.)

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may appear strange that two significations should be assigned to the same combination. But the fact is that in *both* cases, in *ἐὰν ἴδω* as well as in *εἰ ἴδοιμι*, it is a mere possibility that is enunciated: now, when from the circumstances of the case the chances of this possible event taking place are but small, we mark in English our sense of the increased improbability by throwing the verbs into a form more expressive of contingency. In employing the optative in place of the subjunctive mood, the Greeks did precisely the same: Hebrew, on the other hand, was satisfied with a single mode of expression. Nor is the ambiguity greater than that which exists in a parallel case in our own language, where *if I had anything, I would give it*, has often to do duty for both *εἰ εἶχον, ἐδίδουν ἄν* and *εἰ ἔχοιμι, διδοίην ἄν*.

[1] In none of the examples is the apod. introduced by ו: Isa. 54, 10 כִּי is, accordingly, best understood as *for*, וחסדי being adversative: see 49, 15 (yea, these *may* forget, *but* I will not forget); 51, 6.

though ye multiply prayer, אינני שומע I am not hearing. Cf. after כִּי alone Jer. 14, 12.

With לוּ:—Job 16, 4 I too like you אדברה *would gladly* speak: לוּ יֶשׁ נַפְשְׁכֶם if your soul were in my soul's stead, אחבירה *I would* heap up words against you, ואניעה and *would* shake my head at you. Ez. 14, 15[1].

The above are the most common types of hypothetical constructions in Hebrew: **V** and **VI** are, accidentally, of much rarer occurrence.

144. V. *If I had seen him, I would* (now) *tell him.*

Dt. 32, 29 לוּ חָכְמוּ if they *had been* wise יַשְׂכִּילוּ they would understand this (at the present time—which they do not do). 30 (אם לא כי). 2 Sa. 18, 13 (או *or if*, with ואתה in the apod.). 2 Ki. 5, 13. Ps. 44, 21 f. if we *had* forgotten the name of our God וַנִּפְרֹשׂ and stretched out our hands to a strange god, *would* not God find this out? (he does *not* find it out, because it has not been done: on the contrary, *upon thy account* etc. *v.* 23). 66, 18. Job 9, 15. 16. Jer. 23, 22 (with וְ in the apod.). Mic. 2, 11 (והיה in the apod.)[2].

Conversely Dt. 32, 26 I *had* (should have) said I would scatter them, לוּלֵי אָנוּר did I not dread the vexation of the enemy (the vexation which his triumph would cause me).

145. VI. *If I saw him* (*now*, which I do not do) *I would tell him* (εἰ ἑώρων, ἀνήγγελλον ἄν): with לוּ and a participle in the protasis.

2 Sa. 18, 12. 2 Ki. 3, 14 לוּלֵי פְנֵי נֹשֵׂא except I *were favourable* to Yehoshaphat, אִם אַבִּיט I would surely not look at thee! Ps. 81, 14–17 לוּ עַמִּי שֹׁמֵעַ *if* my people *were hearkening* to me . . ., quickly אַכְנִיעַ *would I bow* down their enemies etc. (the verses relate, not to what might have happened in

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[1] Where, however, או *or if* should perhaps be read for לוּ: cf. *vv.* 17. 19.

[2] The pf. with ו is in many relations the syntactical equivalent of the bare impf.: comp. *e.g.* §§ 136 α and β, 138 α and β.

the past, but to the possibilities of restoration and prosperity in the *present*).

146. Hebrew, however, is capable of expressing hypothetical propositions without the aid of any hypothetical particle to introduce them[1]. There are three principal forms which such *implicit hypotheticals* may assume: these may be distinguished as the double perfect with ו consecutive, the double jussive, and the hypothetical imperative. In addition to these there are a few isolated forms which resemble the types already discussed, the only difference being that the conditional particle is not present.

147. (i) The double perfect with ו consecutive.

This use of the perfect with ו is nothing more than an extension, in a particular case, of its employment as a frequentative: sometimes, indeed, it is hardly so much as that; for often the contingent nature of the events spoken of will be sufficiently clear in a translation from the sense of the passage without the addition of any hypothetical particle[2]. A single perfect with ו indicates, as we know, an action the actual date of which is indeterminate, but which is capable of being realized at any or every moment: *two* perfects with ו will indicate therefore *two* actions, which may similarly be realized at any or every moment. Now put the two verbs by each other in a single sentence, and the juxtaposition at once causes them *mutually to determine one another:* the

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[1] The reader will be tempted to compare this absence of a conditional particle in Hebrew with the omission which not unfrequently takes place in English and German. In these languages, however, the omission is accompanied by an *inversion* of the usual order of words, which, by placing the verb before the subject, suggests to the reader the idea of a question, and so apprises him that the proposition involved is only an *assumption*, and not a fact. But, as will be seen, the relation between protasis and apodosis must be explained in Hebrew upon a different principle.

[2] Hence, some of the passages quoted here will likewise be found cited above, § 113. 4; cf. § 120, p. 162 *note*.

reader feels that the idea intended to be conveyed is just this, that the occurrence of one of the events was always, so to speak, the signal for the occurrence of the other. And thus we see how a *compound frequentative* may be equivalent to a *simple hypothetical.*

148. (1) In past or present time:—

Ex. 33, 10 וְקָם . . . וְרָאוּ *and* all the people *used to see and stand up* (or, *would* see and stand up): but the moments of standing up are obviously fixed and determined by the moments of seeing, which are plainly conceived as preceding them: this relation between the two acts may be more explicitly stated in English thus—'*if*, *when*, *whenever*, the people saw, they stood (or, used to stand) up.' And our language, it may be noticed, prefers the undisguised conditional construction when the first verb (or that in the protasis) is *subordinate* in importance to the second, when e.g. it is such a word as ראה or שמע, although in Hebrew the two are strictly co-ordinate—an additional instance to the many we have already had of the way in which we bring into relief what the older language left as a plain surface.

Ex. 16, 21 LXX rightly *ἡνίκα δὲ* **διεθέρμαινεν** *ὁ ἥλιος, ἐτήκετο.* 34, 35. Nu. 10, 17 f. 21 f. (the writer passes *v.* 17 from the description of a *particular* case, with which he began 11–16, to that of the *general* custom: hence the series of perfects with ו 17–27; p. 162, *n.* 1). 1 Sa. 17, 34 f. (cf. p. 122). 1 Ki. 18, 10. Jer. 18, 4. 8 וְשָׁב וְנִחַמְתִּי and *if* it turns, *then I repent.* 10. 20, 9 וְאָמַרְתִּי *if I say* (or *said*), I will not make mention of him, וְהָיָה then *there is* (or *was*) in my heart as it were a burning fire (so R.V. rightly: in the rendering of A.V. there is no indication of the *prolonged* agitation, so clearly implied in the idiom used by the prophet).

149. (2) In the future:—

Gen. 33, 13 and they will overdrive them one day, and all the flock will die (every one feels that it is a contingent, not

a certain result, that is anticipated, cf. the single verb, 20, 11). 42, 38. 44, 22 וְעָזַב אָבִיו וָמֵת *and if* he leaves his father, he will die. 29. Ex. 4, 14*[1] וראך ושמח and *when* he sees thee, he will rejoice. 12, 13*. 23*. Lev. 22, 7 (cf. Ex. 16, 21 in the past). Nu. 10, 3. 5 f. 14, 15 וְהֵמַתָּה and *if* thou killest. 15, 39* (cf. Gen. 9, 16). 23, 20 וברך ולא אשיבנה and *if* he blesseth, I cannot reverse it (impf., because separated from ו). Dt. 4, 29[a] (cf. Jer. 29, 12 f.). 1 Sa. 16, 2. 19, 3 (cf. Nu. 23, 3). 1 Ki. 8, 30 : וְשָׁמַעְתָּ וְסָלָחְתָּ and *when* thou hearest, forgive[2]. Isa. 6, 13 and *if* there be still in it a tenth part, it shall turn and be consumed (=shall again be consumed). Ez. 3, 17. 17, 15[b]. 18, 10 and *if* he begets a son, who etc. . . . (*v.* 13) וָחָי *shall he live?* 33, 3* (cf. Isa. 21, 7 והקשיב . . . וראה=and should he see . . ., let him give heed . . .). 39, 15*. Pr. 3, 24 ושכבת (not under the government of אִם: cf. Job 5, 24[b]).

Compare further Jud. 6, 13 וְיֵשׁ *and is* Yahweh with us, וְלָמָּה *why then* has all this come upon us? 2 Sa. 13, 26 וְלֹא *and not* (=and if not), let Amnon go with us. 2 Ki. 5, 17. 10, 15 וְיֵשׁ תנה את ידך *if* it be, then, give (me) thine hand.

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[1] In the passages marked thus *, the first verb is ראה, which, as is not unfrequently the case in Hebrew, though against the idiom of our own language, is treated as though it represented an independent, substantive idea, equal in importance to that expressed by the succeeding verb. Thus Gen. 45, 27 'and he saw the wagons, and his spirit revived;' where *saw* expresses such a subordinate and transitory idea that in English we feel disposed to render 'and *when* he saw;' this, however, would strictly have been ויהי כראתו. If we make use of a more emphatic word, we can retain the Hebrew form of sentence without its sounding unnatural, thus:—'and he *looked at* the wagons and his spirit revived.' So 46, 29. 1 Sa. 10, 14. 17, 51[b]. Ez. 20, 28. The case is similar with verbs of *hearing*, Josh. 2, 11. 22, 12; or *finishing*, Ex. 34, 33. 39, 32. Lev. 16, 20. 2 Sa. 11, 27. Ez. 4, 6. 5, 13. Passages such as those just quoted explain ויכל Gen. 2, 2: the act of *completion* is regarded as sufficiently distinct and independent to have a special day assigned to it.

[2] For the *repetition* of the verb שמע after what precedes cf. Lev. 13, 3. 1 Sa. 29, 10: cf. p. 138, *n.* 4.

150. (ii and iii) The hypothetical imperative and double jussive.

The use of the imperative or jussive to indicate hypothetical propositions is to be explained upon the same principle as that of the double perfect, although the use of a different verbal form modifies to a certain extent the nature of the condition expressed. In the present case the first verb enunciates a command or permission: the general sense of the passage, however, or the tone in which the words are uttered may indicate that the speaker does not intend the language to be understood *literally*, or to be carried into actual execution under *all and any circumstances*, but only in so far as is requisite for the purpose of realizing and comprehending the manner in which the action denoted by the second verb is involved in, and results from, that denoted by the first. This may, of course, be done *mentally:* and thus a concise and emphatic mode of expressing a hypothetical sentence is obtained[1].

151. English as well as classical idiom (Aesch. P. V. 728 (709); Verg. Ecl. iii. 104) requires the future[2] in place of the second imperative or jussive: and it is at first sight difficult to discover a justification or satisfactory explanation of the Hebrew construction. The most plausible supposition seems to be this, that the two correlative clauses were originally pronounced in such a manner as to shew that the intention of the speaker was to mark his opinion that the two were equivalent, that you might as well assume the one as the other, that if you imagined the first realized you must conceive the second realized as well, and that continual juxtaposition with this object generated in time a *fixed formula*.

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[1] Cf. Winer, § 43. 2 'when two imperatives are connected by καί, the first sometimes contains the condition (supposition) upon which the action indicated by the second will take place.'

[2] Or, at any rate, the indicative mood: cf., for example, Pope, *Essay on Man*, i. 251 f. 253–256. iv. 89–92.

Thus Ps. 147, 18 יִשֹּׁב . . . יִזְלוּ is strictly '*let him blow* with his wind! *let* the waters *flow!*' i. e. assume the one, and you must assume the other: but by long usage the stiffness which originally attached to the formula disappeared, and the *collocation* of the two verbs ceased to do more than suggest simply the idea of a hypothetical relation: in the present case, '*if* or *when* he blows with his wind, the waters flow[1].'

It will be objected that, inasmuch as the second verb in the example is the simple imperfect[2], if it were understood and treated accordingly, the meaning would be identical and the need for a circuitous explanation such as the one here proposed superseded. To this it must be replied that such a course would leave unexplained the similar cases in which (as will appear directly) the second verb is shewn to be a jussive by its form: the existence of these instances, supported as they are by the parallel construction of the imperative, as well as by the analogy of the corresponding idiom in Arabic, authorizes us in the inference that the verb is still jussive, although no visible indication of the fact may exist.

Obs. In Arabic the jussive is the mood which appears regularly after an imperative (whether the latter is intended to be understood in a hypothetical or a literal sense) for the purpose of indicating the *consequence*

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[1] We can understand without much difficulty the use of the jussive when the verb is in the third person: but so arduous is it to pass outside the magic circle prescribed by the language with which we are most familiar, that the inability of English to express the *idea* of a jussive in the first and second persons (except through the medium of a circumlocution by which its presence is disguised) constitutes a serious obstacle in the way of our realizing its application under the last-named circumstances.

[2] A double impf. in a frequentative sense would be as intelligible as the double pf., §§ 147, 148, and ought, perhaps, to be adopted for such cases as Prov. 26, 26 al., where the jussive form, although it exists, has not been employed, and for Ps. 104, 28–30. 109, 25. 139, 18, where the verbs have the old termination ־ן annexed to them, which in Arabic is dropped in the jussive, and in Hebrew is at least found with it very rarely (see Job 31, 10). Cf. also Ps. 91, 7.

that will supervene, if the injunction conveyed by the imperative takes effect. A compound formula thus arises, of which קַח . . . וְהִי Ex. 7, 9 may be taken as the type. Inasmuch now as it is never the office of the jussive in Arabic to express a purpose or result (for which other idioms are employed) except when thus preceded by an imperative, it is natural to suppose that its appearance in such a capacity is in some way connected with the presence of this mood. A consequence which only results from the execution of a command is not like the absolute consequence of a certified fact; it is essentially limited by, dependent on, the occurrence of the action denoted by the imperative; virtually, therefore, it stands upon the same footing, and may be enunciated in the same terms—the collocation of the two verbs indicating with sufficient clearness the relation which they are conceived by the speaker or writer to occupy with regard to each other. And this *dependency* may be exhibited in English in more ways than one: sometimes a double imperative will be sufficient, at other times it will be better to adopt the form of an explicit hypothetical, or to employ the final conjunction *that* before the second verb.

Examples are not far to find: Qor'an 27, 12 put thy hand into thy bosom, *let it come forth* white, or, as we should say, *and it shall* come forth white. 2, 38 be true to my covenant, أُوفِ (juss.) *let me be true* to yours! i.e. '*if* you are true to me, I will be true to you.' 129 become Jews or Christians, *be guided aright* (juss.), or, *that* you may be guided aright (contrast 7, 158). 3, 29 if you love God, follow me; *let* God *love* you, and *forgive* you your sins, or, *then* he will love you etc. (by inserting *then*, we assume that the 'following' has actually occurred, and so are enabled to employ the language of assurance—*will*; Arabic and Hebrew do *not* make this assumption, and are therefore obliged to adhere to an expression of contingency, in strict co-ordination with the imperative). 7, 71 (cf. 11, 67. 40, 27) let her alone, تَأْكُلْ *let her eat* = that she may eat. 139. 142. 161. 40, 62 = *if* you call upon me, I will answer you. 46, 30. 57, 28 fear God, and believe in his prophet, *let him give* (= '*that* he may give;' or, '*and* he will give,' viz. provided that you fear and believe) you a double portion of his mercy. 67, 4 etc.

The instances here cited (all of which are in exact conformity with the type קַח . . . וְהִי) form a welcome illustration of the Hebrew idiom. It ought, however, to be mentioned that as a general rule in Arabic this mood, when used literally as a 'jussive,' does not stand alone, but is preceded by the particle لِ *li*: in the class of instances under

discussion the need of this seems to be superseded by the presence of the *imperative*, which sufficiently indicates the sense to be assigned to the jussive following[1].

152. But however this may be, the formulae in question are of frequent occurrence. We have—

(1) *The hypothetical imperative:*—as Isa. 55, 2 *hearken unto me, and eat ye that which is good:* this might, of course, be a special counsel issued on a particular occasion, but it may have equally a more general purport, and affirm that *granting* or *supposing* the first imperative to take effect at any time, the second will be found to take effect also. Gen. 42, 18 do this וְחְיוּ *and live:* as the *living* is dependent upon the *doing*, if the double imperative in English be not free from ambiguity one of these equivalent forms may be substituted, 'do this *that* ye may live,' or 'if ye do this, ye shall live.' Amos 5, 4. 6 (וחיו, for which *v.* 14 למען תחיו)[2]. Pr. 3, 3 f. ('*and so* find,' or '*that* thou mayest find'). 4, 4 וחיה etc.; or in irony or defiance, Isa. 8, 9 vex yourselves *and be broken!* cf. § 50 *n.*

And without וְ:—Pr. 20, 13[b]. Job 40, 32 lay thine hand upon him, זְכֹר *think of* the battle, : אַל־תּוֹסֵף *don't* do it again! (i. e. thou wilt not do it again.)

(2) The same with a jussive* (or cohortative†)[3] in the apodosis[4]:—Isa. 8, 10 (ironically) take your counsel וְתֵפָר *and let it come* to nought! Prov. 3, 9 f. 4, 8 (19, 20 למען). 20, 22* (so Mark 11, 24 וְיִהְיוּ . . . הֶאֱמִינוּ). Cf. Gen. 30, 28†. 34, 12†.

And without וְ:—Ex. 7, 9* 'take thy rod and cast it to the ground, יְהִי *let it become* a serpent!' but as this is the object aimed at by the two preceding actions, we may also render, *that it may become.* 18, 19 שמע איעצך. Ps. 50, 15. 51, 16 (*that* my

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[1] Compare Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* § 732; Wright, ii. §§ 13, 17.

[2] Comp. Ps. 37, 27 (§ 65). Jer. 25, 5. 35, 15. Job 22, 21.

[3] In the instances marked * or †, the presence of the voluntative is indicated by the form.

[4] Compare above, §§ 62, 64 *Obs.*, where indeed such of the instances as relate to a definite individual act might also have been placed.

tongue may sing). 118, 19. 119, 17 (=*so* or *then* shall I live, although without וְ). Pr. 3, 7 f.* תִּהְיִי. 2 Chr. 25, 8 כִּי אִם־בֹּא תָּבֹא . . . יַכְשִׁילְךָ הָאֱלֹהִים but go thou (=if thou go) . . ., God will make thee to stumble.

(3) *The double jussive*:—Isa. 41, 28 וְאֶרְאֶה ואין איש and *suppose* (*if*) I looked, there was no man. Ps. 104, 20* תָּשֶׁת חֹשֶׁךְ וְיִהִי לָיְלָה=*if* or *when* thou makest darkness, then it is night. Pr. 20, 25 יָלַע (see p. 104, *n.* 2) let a man cry hastily, It is sacred, and afterwards he will have to enquire into his vows! (to see whether he can free himself from them: in *v.* 25b understand וְיִהִי). Job 22, 28a*. (But cf. p. 216, *n.* 4.)

And without וְ:—2 Ki. 6, 27 (notice אַל in the protasis: the sense of the passage is, however, far from certain). Ps. 146, 4 (but cf. p. 189, *n.* 2). 147, 18b. Job 10, 16 f.* 11, 17 תָּעֳפָה כַּבֹּקֶר תִּהְיֶה: *suppose* it dark (but cf. p. 51, *note*), 'twill become like the morning. 20, 24. Cf. 2 Sa. 18, 22 וִיהִי מָה אָרְצָה־נָּא גַּם־אָנִי well, come what may, *I* too will run.

(4) Once or twice only is the jussive followed by an imperative:—Ps. 45, 12 (with וְ). Job 15, 17.

153. Lastly, some passages must be noted in which the thought is *virtually* hypothetical; although this is in no way indicated by its syntactical dress:—

Pr. 11, 2 בָּא זָדוֹן וַיָּבֹא קָלוֹן lit. 'pride *has come and* shame *goes on to come*,' i.e. follows it in any given case: this compound *general truth* (§ 12) is equivalent in meaning, though not in form, to the *explicit* hypothetical construction '*if* or *when* pride cometh, then cometh shame' (cf. 18, 3a). So 11, 8. 25, 4 (where we must not be tempted by the English idiom to treat הָגוֹ imperatively, as *v.* 5, which the following וְיִצָּא forbids: the *inf. abs.* is here a substitute for the *perfect*). Job 3, 25a. 9, 20b. 23, 13 וְנַפְשׁוֹ אִוְּתָה וַיַּעַשׂ: and his soul desireth (a thing), and he doeth (it)[1]. 29, 11 for the ear heard me, and it blessed

[1] *Paraphrased* in A.V., R.V., by 'and what his soul desireth, even that he doeth.'

me (=for *when* the ear heard me, *then* it blessed me, R.V.: A. V. *does not render the* כי)[1]. These passages throw light upon Ex. 20, 25b for thou hast lifted up thy tool upon it וַתְּחַלְלֶהָ and polluted it! =for *if* thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Cf. Ps. 39, 12 יַסַּרְתָּ . . . וַתָּמֶס thou correctest *and* makest (=*when* thou dost correct, thou makest, A. V.) his beauty to consume away etc. Add also Ps. 37, 10b (where ו cannot be consecutive on account of the position of the tone: contrast Pr. 3, 24). Job 7, 8b. 27, 19b.

154. Often this *hypothetical* perfect, as it may be termed, is followed by the impf. *ἀσυνδέτως* (cf. p. 33): thus Amos 3, 8 a lion *hath roared*, who shall not be afraid? (i. e. *supposing* it have roared). Job 7, 20 חָטָאתִי *have I sinned* (repeated 35, 6 with אם: that the perfect is hypothetical is, of course, further clear from the whole tenour of Job's argument), what do I do to thee? 4, 2 and 21 (after an interrog., anomalously). 19, 4. 21, 31. 23, 10. 24, 24. Lev. 15, 3. Pr. 19, 24. 22, 29[2]: cf. Hos. 9, 6.

More rarely it is succeeded by another perfect, as Pr. 24, 10. 26, 15. 27, 12 (contrast 22, 3): once by an imperative, 25, 16.

155. Only very seldom do we meet with what seems like one of the hypothetical constructions noticed above, with the *omission* of the conditional particle:—Josh. 22, 18. Neh. 1, 8; Isa. 26, 10 (§ 136 γ); Lev. 10, 19 וְאָכַלְתִּי and had I eaten,

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[1] The difficult passage Job 22, 29 cited here in my previous editions (For they are depressed, וַתֹּאמֶר גֵּאוָה and thou sayest, Up! =if they are depressed, thou art quickly reassured), I am inclined now, on account of the doubtful meaning which this construction assigns to גאוה, to take with Hitzig, 'When they have humbled thee (cf. Pr. 25, 7), and thou sayest (= complainest), Pride, he will save him that is lowly of eyes' (i.e. thyself),—if thou art humble, God will defend thee, when the proud seek to bring thee down: cf. Dan. 4, 34.

[2] Pr. 6, 22. Nah. 1, 12b the first pf. is connected with what precedes by the weak *waw* (as Ps. 37, 10).

would it be good in the eyes of Yahweh? Nu. 12, 14 (cf. § 144).

Obs. Whether it is permissible to explain Hos. 8, 12. Ps. 40, 6 by means of the principle of § 152 is doubtful, as nowhere does the *pf.* appear in the apodosis. The sequence in Isa. 58, 10 (which is passed over too lightly by the commentators) is no less unique: still, if Pr. 31, 6 f. Mic. 6, 14 (with ולא and impf. in apod.) can be referred rightly to § 152. 2 and 3 respectively, they may perhaps justify its being treated similarly.

APPENDIX I.

The Circumstantial Clause.

156. The term *circumstantial*, or, as the German word[1] is sometimes though perhaps less expressively rendered, *descriptive clause*, is one which constantly meets the student in the commentaries and grammars of modern scholars: and formulating as it does a characteristic usage of the language, its introduction has been of great service in the rational exposition of Hebrew syntax. It corresponds on the whole to what in the classical languages is generally termed the *secondary predicate*. Any word or words expressive of some fact *subordinate to the main course of the narrative*, or descriptive of some circumstance attaching or appertaining to the action denoted by the principal verb, may form a circumstantial clause or secondary predicate: an adverb, a genitive or ablative absolute, a participle or other word in apposition to the subject—all of which *qualify* the main action by assigning the *concomitant conditions* under which it took place, be they modal, causal, or temporal—are familiar instances. But Hebrew has no signs for cases, no past or future participle, a limited development of adverbs or adjectives, and is weak in special words corresponding to conjunctions like ὡς, ἐπεί, quum etc.: in what way, then, is it able to give expression to

[1] *Zustandsatz*, also *Umstandsatz*. With the whole of what follows compare generally Ewald, §§ 306c, 341, who, however, seems disposed to extend the principle of the circumstantial clause beyond legitimate limits, to cases where its application becomes unreal.

these subordinate details, which, although secondary, form still such an important factor in all continued narrative?

157. Already in the preceding pages, while considering the various mutual relations to one another of the different clauses which together constitute a complete sentence, we have more than once had occasion to notice how in Hebrew, to a much greater extent than in many other languages, these relations take the form of simple *co-ordination:* in other words, that, instead of the logical relation which each part bears to the whole being explicitly indicated, it is frequently left to be inferred by the reader for himself with just such help as he may be able to obtain from a change of position, or an alteration in the modulation of the voice. Now a similar method is employed for the expression of those circumstantial clauses which modern idiom usually marks more distinctly[1]. The words expressing them are simply *thrown into the sentence,* being either entirely disconnected with what precedes or joined to it only by וְ—with a change, however, of the usual order of the words, whereby the construction with וַ, expressive of the smooth and unbroken succession of events one after another, is naturally abandoned, as being alien to the relation that has now to be represented, and the *subject* of the circumstantial clause *placed first.* In consequence of the subject thus standing conspicuously in the foreground, the reader's attention is suddenly arrested, and directed pointedly to it: he is thus made aware that it is the writer's wish to lay special stress upon it as about to be contrasted, in respect of the predicate following, either with

[1] In early Greek we not unfrequently observe the same phenomenon: thus Il. vi. 148 ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη, which is logically subordinate to the preceding clause ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη Τηλεθόωσα φύει, of which it determines the moment of occurrence: grammatically, however, it is *co*-ordinated with it. So xiv. 417. xvi. 825. xvii. 302 μιννυθάδιος δέ οἱ αἰὼν Ἕπλετο (והוא קצר ימים), 572. xviii. 247 f. xxi. 364. xxii. 27 ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ Φαίνονται, his beams *shining* brightly.

some *other* subject mentioned before, or else with the same subject under a *different* aspect (i.e. with a different predicate) previously mentioned or implied. The contrast may at times be less perceptible, and so possibly be thought not to exist: but this is no more than happens with *μὲν . . . δὲ* in Greek, which always mark an antithesis of some sort or other, however evanescent it may sometimes appear. For instance, 1 Ki. 19, 19 'and he went thence and found Elisha, וְהוּא חֹרֵשׁ and *he* (was) ploughing:' this is equivalent to 'while he was ploughing,' where it will be observed that the italics for *he* are abandoned: so soon as the circumstantial clause is expressed by a conjunction, there is not generally any further need to emphasize the subject, the particular relation which the emphasis was intended to bring out being now represented sufficiently by the connecting particle.

As to the verb (if there be one) following the subject, it will naturally fall into the pf., impf., or partcp., according to the character of the circumstance to be described and its relation in point of time to the action denoted by the verb in the primary sentence.

158. In the translation of circumstantial clauses there is considerable scope for variety. Sometimes the וְ may be rendered most simply and naturally *and*—the subordinate position of the fact thus introduced being manifest from the sense of the passage; but at other times it will be better, precisely as in the case of the participle in Greek or Latin, to make the meaning more evident by the adoption of some circumlocution such as *if, when, although, as, since*, etc., as the context requires.

159. Let us first consider some instances in which the conjunction appears:—Gen. 18, 12 וַאדֹנִי זָקֵן *and* my lord *is old* =my lord *being old*. 16. 18 ואברהם היו יהיה *seeing that* (A.V.) Abraham etc. 19, 1. 24, 56 וַיהוָה הִצְלִיחַ דַּרְכִּי *and* (=*since*) Yahweh hath prospered my journey. 28, 12 וְרֹאשׁוֹ מַגִּיעַ the top thereof *reaching* to heaven. Nu. 16, 11b *since* or *for* what

are we . . .? (justifying יי על: so Ex. 16, 7). 24, 18 וישראל עשׂה חיל *while that* Israel doeth valiantly. Dt. 4, 11 (cf. Jud. 8, 11b). 28, 32 ועיניך ראות. 32, 31 *and* our enemies are judges (i.e. our own enemies *admitting* it). Ruth 1, 21 why call ye me Naomi ויהוה ענה בי *when* or *seeing* Yahweh hath testified against me? Josh. 3, 14 והכהנים *the priests being* before the people. 15b (may be most conveniently placed in a parenthesis: LXX ὁ δὲ Ἰορδάνης ἐπληροῦτο· δὲ being used as Thuc. i. 93. 4 ὑπῆρκτο δὲ κ.τ.λ., or as in the phrases σημεῖον δέ· δῆλον δέ· i. 11. 2 etc.). 8, 11b (cf. 1 Sa. 17, 3). Ps. 35, 5b. 6b. Hos. 6, 4b *and*=since (or *for*, A.V.). Job 33, 19 Qrê *while* or *though* the multitude of his bones is in vigour.

Gen. 11, 4 וראשו בשמים=*with* its top in the heavens. 24, 10 al. וידו . . . ב=*with* . . . in his hand. 25, 26 וידו אחזת בעקב עשו =*with* his hand taking hold etc. 44, 26 ואחינו הקטן איננו אתנו. Dt. 9, 15b. Isa. 35, 10. 43, 8 ועינים יש *although* they have eyes. 60, 11 ומלכיהם נהוגים. Ps. 28, 3 ורעה בלבבם *while* or *though* mischief is in their hearts. 55, 22a. 64, 7. Pr. 3, 28 ויש אתך: *it being* by thee. 12, 9. 15, 16.

A circumstantial clause begins but seldom with any word other than the subject, unless it be one adapted for, or demanding, a prominent position: Dt. 19, 6 ולו אין משפט־מות *whereas* . . ., A.V. Josh. 22, 25. 2 Sa. 13, 18 ועליה כתנת פסים. 16, 1 ועליהם מאתים לחם. 2 Ki. 10, 2 ואתכם. Isa. 3, 7. 6, 6 ובידו. 23, 15 Del. ונשׁבּחת (ptcp.[1] cf. Ez. 9, 8, p. 90 *n.*). Amos 7, 7. Ps. 60, 13; and with the emphatic word לא, 1 Sa. 20, 2 ולא יגלה את אזני *without* disclosing it to me. Isa. 45, 4. 5 *when* or *though* thou didst not know me. Ps. 44, 18 *though* we had not forgotten him. 139, 16. Job 9, 5. 24, 22 ולא יאמין בחיין *while* (or *though*) despairing of life. 42, 3 *though* I understood

[1] Taken by some (e.g. Dillm., Stade, § 410a, Anm. 1) as an irregular perf. However, if ונשכחת were the *first* statement introduced by והיה ביום ההוא, the second (. . . מקץ) would naturally be introduced by ו, which is not the case.

not. Often also in such phrases as וְאֵין מַצִּיל Ps. 7, 3 al. וְאֵין מַחֲרִיד *without any to frighten* Lev. 26, 6 al. וְאֵין קֹבֵר 2 Ki. 9, 10. Pr. 28, 1 ואין רדף. Qoh. 4, 8 ואין שני *without* a second.

160. The most instructive and noticeable instances, however, are those in which a *personal pronoun* forms the subject of the circumstantial clause: where this is the case, it is often even more impracticable than before to elicit a suitable or intelligible meaning without resolving the Hebrew idiom into some relatival or participial construction. Thus Gen. 15, 2 what wilt thou give me, ואנכי הולך ערירי=*seeing* I go hence childless? 18, 8 והוא עֹמֵד עליהם=*as* he was standing beside them. 27 ואנכי עפר ואפר=*though* I am dust and ashes. 20, 3 וְהִוא בְּעֻלַת בָּעַל׃=*for* she is married to a husband. 24, 31 why dost thou stand without, ואנכי פניתי=*when* I have prepared the house? 62 וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב *as* or *for* he was dwelling (assigning a *reason*, entirely different from וַיֵּשֶׁב 25, 11, where the וַ introduces a new and independent statement). 37, 2 וְהוּא נַעַר *he being* a lad (*while yet* a lad, LXX ὢν νέος). Ex. 23, 9 ואתם ידעתם for *ye* know. 33, 12 thou sayest to me, Bring up this people, ואתה לא הודעתני *without having* told me etc. Josh. 17, 14 why hast thou given me only a single lot, ואני עם רב *seeing* I am a great people? (cf. 1 Sa. 18, 23). Jud. 3, 26 and Ehud escaped וְאֵהוּד עָבַר *he having passed over* etc. (not the mere addition of a fresh fact like וַיַּעֲבֹר, but the justification of the preceding נִמְלַט). 4, 21 וְהוּא־יָרֵדְ (pf.) *he having* fallen fast asleep. 16, 31 *after having* judged. 1 Ki. 1, 41 וְהֵם כִּלּוּ *they having* finished. 2 Ki. 5, 18. Isa. 49, 21 ואני שכולה וגלמודה. 53, 4 ואנחנו חשבנהו *although* we (mistakenly) deemed him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted (viz. as a judgment for his own sins). 7 נִגַּשׂ וְהוּא נַעֲנָה (where the unemphatic 'and he was afflicted' is obviously an insufficient rendering of והוא נענה: the words must signify either '*he being* (already) afflicted,' or (Delitzsch, Dillm.; cf. R. V.) 'though suffering himself to be afflicted,' 'though he humbled himself' (cf. Ex.

10, 3): only in this way is a contrast with נגש secured). 12 נשׂא . . . והוא *though* he bare[1]. Hos. 3, 1 *although* they turn. Ps. 50, 17 (in contrast to *v.* 16). 55, 22b והמה פתחות *being* (in reality) drawn swords. Job 21, 22 והוא רמים ישפוט *while* or *when* HE judges those that are on high. 22, 18 *when* HE (of whom they had used the language quoted in *v.* 17) *had* all the time filled their houses with prosperity.

Obs. It must not, however, be supposed that *all* sentences framed like ושאול אמר are circumstantial clauses: emphasis or the love of variety causes sometimes this form to be adopted in preference to ויאמר שאול; especially noticeable are those cases where, when statements have to be made respecting *two* subjects, the first having been introduced by כ, the second is thrown into relief against the first by *the subject being placed before the verb.* This variation is the Hebrew equivalent to *μὲν . . . δὲ* of the Greeks: in English the antithesis is not indicated by anything further than a slightly emphasized pronunciation.

Thus Gen. 4, 2 And Abel was (or rather became—היה is *ἐγίγνετο, γίγνεται* much more than *ἦν, ἐστὶ*) a shepherd, וקין היה but Cain was (became and continued to be) a tiller of ground. 3 f. 6, 8. 8, 5. 10, 8. 13. 15 (facts about the personages named *v.* 6, and so contrasted among each other). 11, 3b. 13, 12. 18, 33.

Similarly when something has to be stated about a *new* subject, that subject is sometimes put first, though by no means exclusively, as Gen. 11, 12. 14 (contrast 13. 15), but in the exactly similar sentences 16. 18 etc. we have כ: then 27b והרן הוליד. 13, 14. 14, 18 etc.

A third case in which the same order of words is observed is for the purpose of introducing the mention of a new state of things, or new situation, which, while preparatory to what is to succeed, is in no immediate connexion with the preceding portion of the narrative. Those instances in which the fresh fact is one that is *anterior* to the point at which the main narrative has arrived, have been already adverted to and explained p. 84, where also an obvious reason was assigned for the abandonment upon such occasions of the more usual construction with כ. Although, however, the new statement is intro-

[1] Not 'and he bare' (A.V.), which must have been וַיִּשָּׂא: the point is that he was numbered with transgressors, *although* actually so far from being one himself that he had even borne the sin of others.

ductory, and accordingly in a certain sense subordinate, to what follows, yet the subordination is not sufficient to create a formal circumstantial clause; moreover, the clause in question precedes instead of following the sentence it is supposed to qualify: in fact the change of form merely marks the commencement of a new thread which is afterwards interwoven with the narrative as a whole. The deviation from the usual style of progression, and also the significance of the new one adopted in its place, may be appropriately indicated in translation by the employment of *now*. Thus, in addition to the passages cited p. 84, see Gen. 16, 1 *now* Sarai, Abram's wife, had borne him no son (contrast 11, 30). 37, 3 *now* Israel loved. 39, 1. 43, 1. Ex. 13, 21. Josh. 13, 1.

The preceding remarks apply with no less force to those cases in which the subject is a *pronoun*, to sentences, for example, of a type so common in the Psalms, beginning with ואני, ואתה etc. Although, in thus inserting the pronoun, it is always the intention of the writer to mark it as being in *some* way specially emphatic—either as denoting a *different* subject, which is to be contrasted with a previous one, or as introducing a fresh and emphatic statement about the *same* subject—yet the clause in which it appears need not of necessity be *subordinate* to what has preceded: its importance may render it *parallel* and *co-ordinate*, and in this case it cannot, of course, be regarded as a circumstantial clause. Thus Gen. 33, 3 *he himself* (in opposition to the persons named *v.* 2). 42, 8 ('but *they*'). 23 LXX **αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν ὅτι ἀκούει** (שֹׁמֵעַ *was* hearing) **Ἰωσήφ**. 49, 19^{b} (a fresh thought in contrast to 19^{a}). 20^{b} (pointing back emphatically to the subject אשר). Jud. 4, 3. 13, 5 (and *he*—however others may fail—will etc.: cf. Gen. 16, 12. Matth. 1, 21 **αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει κ.τ.λ.**). 18, 27. 1 Ki. 1, 13 *he* (and no one else: so *vv.* 24. 30. 35). 2, 8. 19, 4 (opposed to נערו). Isa. 1, 2 והם (sons!). Ps. 2, 6 but *I* (however ye may rage). 5, 8. 9, 9. 13, 6. 31, 7^{b} (in contrast to השמרים). 15. 23. 37, 5. 106, 43 והמה ימרו but *they* (nevertheless, in spite of יצילם) kept rebelling.

The presence of the pronoun should always be noted in Hebrew, though it is sometimes difficult, without a careful study of the context, to discern the motive which prompted its insertion: let the reader examine for himself, with the view to discover in each instance what the motive may have been, the following passages:—Gen. 41, 15. Ex. 28, 5. Jud. 11, 35. 2 Sa. 19, 33 (see 17, 27). 1 Ki. 22, 32. 2 Ki. 4, 40. 12, 6. 19, 37. Ps. 109, 25. Isa. 24, 14[1].

[1] The pronoun is also expressed sometimes (as one of my reviewers has pointed out) in *responses*, where although no special stress rests

In the same way sentences introduced by וְהִנֵּה form in general such an integral part of the narrative that they can hardly with fairness be termed circumstantial clauses: certainly they often indicate a state of things either already completed (*pf.*), continuing (*part.*), or about to commence (*impf.*), but the manner of their introduction by the particle הִנֵּה, and their occurrence usually after some verb of *seeing*, *ascertaining*, *perceiving*, shews that the stress lies not so much on the mere circumstance as such, but on *the impression it produces* upon the principal subject. The construction with הִנֵּה is preferred to that with וְ for two reasons: 1. to mark the occurrence of an event more or less startling or noticeable for the subject; 2. to indicate with greater precision than is possible by וְ alone the relation as regards time of the new event to what precedes it in the sentence—whether, for instance, it is antecedent or simultaneous.

Thus Gen. 8, 13 and he looked *and behold* the face of the ground חָרְבוּ *had become* dry (LXX ἐξέλιπε· had the writer used ויחרבו, the meaning would have been ambiguous, as the drying would have been naturally supposed to *succeed* the act of looking). 37, 7. 9 (observe the variations of tense). 42, 27. Dt. 9, 13 I see this people, *and behold* it is a stiff-necked people. Jud. 3, 25. 2 Ki. 2, 11 and often.

161. But clauses expressing a subordinate thought occur also without וְ: thus (1) Gen. 12, 8 and pitched his tent there בֵּית־אֵל מִיָּם וְהָעַי מִקֶּדֶם Bethel *being* on the west etc. 1 Sa. 26, 13 רַב הַמָּקוֹם בֵּינֵיהֶם; and in such phrases as אִם עַל פָּנִים Gen. 32, 12; עַיִן בְּעַיִן 32, 31; פָּנִים אֶל פָּנִים Nu. 14, 14; פֶּה אֶחָד *with* one mouth Josh. 9, 2. 1 Ki. 22, 13; קוֹל גָּדוֹל *with* a loud voice 1 Ki. 8, 55; כַּף רְמִיָּה *with* a slack hand Pr. 10, 4; שֶׁכֶם אֶחָד Zeph. 3, 9; Dt. 5, 5 אָנֹכִי עֹמֵד *me stante*. Isa. 26, 16

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upon it, a slight prominence is evidently not unsuitable, as Jud. 6, 18. 11, 9: add 2 Sa. 3, 13. 1 Ki. 2, 18.

I take this opportunity of putting together some passages in which the pronoun (emphatic) *follows* the verb: Ex. 18, 19. 22. 26. Jud. 8, 23. 15, 12. 1 Sa. 17, 56. 20, 8. 22, 18. 23, 22 כִּי עָרוֹם יִצְרִים הוּא (so Ex. 4, 14). 2 Sa. 12, 28 פֶּן אִלְכֹּד אֲנִי. 17, 15 יָעַצְתִּי אֲנִי. Isa. 20, 6 (so 2 Ki. 10, 4). 43, 26. Jer. 15, 19. 17, 18 (so Ps. 109, 28). 21, 5 (so Lev. 20, 5. 26, 32). Ez. 16, 60. 62. Dt. 5, 24. But in the *late* Heb. of Qohéleth, אני is often so used with hardly any emphasis, merely to mark the stages in the author's meditations (as 1, 16. 2, 1. 11. 12. 13. 15. 18. 20): cf. Del. p. 207, or C. H. H. Wright, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 488 f.

מוּסָרְךָ לָמוֹ *when* thy chastisement is towards them. 60, 9. Ps. 32, 8 I will give counsel עליך עיני *with* mine eye upon thee. 64, 9 and they (indef.[1]) made each (of them) [=they were made, cf. 63, 11 יגירֵהו] to stumble, עלימו לשונם their own tongue *being* against them. Job 20, 25b (Hitz. Del.; Dillm.).

(2) With a participial determination of the subject[2] as the secondary predicate: Nu. 16, 27 יָצְאוּ נִצָּבִים came forth *stationed* (or *so as to be*[3] stationed). Jud. 1, 7. 8, 4 (cf. Ex. 26, 5b). Isa. 33, 1 כַּהֲתַמְּךָ שׁוֹדֵד lit. when thou finishest *as* a devastator. 36, 22 came קרועי בגדים lit. *as* men torn of garments. Jer. 2, 27. 17, 25 רֹכְבִים . . . ובאו shall enter *riding* (accus.). 23, 5 וּמָלַךְ מֶלֶךְ and shall reign *as* king (cf. 37, 1). 17. 41, 6. 43, 2. Ps. 7, 3. 78, 4 etc.; and preceding the verb, Gen. 49, 11. Ex. 13, 18 וחמשים עלו. Isa. 57, 19 *creating* the fruit of the lips, 'Peace, peace,' saith Yahweh etc. (i.e. *as* one who gives human lips the occasion to praise him, Yahweh now promises peace to Israel). Ps. 10, 10 Kt. (וְדָכָה). 56, 2. 92, 14 LXX *πεφυτευμένοι . . . ἐξανθήσουσιν*. Pr. 20, 14b Del. Ez. 36, 35b.

(3) The same principle with substantives or adjectives: Gen. 37, 35 אֶרֶד . . . אָבֵל I shall go down . . . *as* one mourning. Lev. 20, 20 ערירים ימותו. Dt. 4, 27 ונשארתם מְתֵי מספר ye shall be left *as* few in number. 9, 3 אֹשׁ אֹכלה. Ru. 1, 21 מְלֵאָה. 1 Sa. 2, 18 נער. 33 ימותו אנשים shall die *as* men (but LXX בְּחֶרֶב אנשים, probably rightly). 3, 2 הֵחֵלּוּ כֵּהוֹת lit. began *as* dim ones= began to be dim (unusual: cf. above, Isa. 33, 1). 2 Sa. 19, 21 באתי היום ראשון I am come this day *as* a first one etc. Job

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[1] From the Semitic point of view המכשילים: see the writer's note on 1 Sa. 16, 4; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 144. 3d Rem.

[2] Which *we* should regard instinctively as in *apposition* with the subj.: inasmuch as Arabic, however, in (2) and (3), not less than in (1), would employ regularly the *accusative* (defining the *state* of the subj. or obj., whilst the act is taking place: Wright, ii. pp. 123, 125, 129, 213, ed. 2), no doubt the instances in Hebrew should be conceived as implicitly in the same case: cf. Del. on Hab. 2, 15; Aug. Müller, § 415 (who cites also Gen. 9, 20); Ewald, § 279; Ges.-K., §§ 118. 5; 120. 1a.

[3] Cf. Qor. 4, 18, and Del. on Ps. 68, 31 (text and sense doubtful).

15, 7 הֲרִאשׁוֹן אָדָם תִּוָּלֵד lit. wast thou *as a first one* born (to be) a man? (accus. of product, Ges.-K. § 121. 2 Rem. 1). 19, 25 ואחרון על עפר יקום and *as one coming after me* (and so able to vindicate my innocence) shall he stand up upon the dust. 24, 5 פראים יצאו go forth *as* wild asses. 10b ורעבים נשאו עמר. 27, 19. 31, 26 וירח יקר הלך and the moon moving *as* a bright one (=brightly). 41, 7 shut up together חוֹתָם צָר *as* a close seal. Isa. 21, 8 ויקרא אריה and he cried *as* a lion. 22, 18 כַּדּוּר. 24, 22 shall be gathered with a gathering אַסִּיר *as* captives[1]. 65, 20 the youth shall die בן מאה שנה *when* a hundred years old (cf. Gen. 17, 12). Ps. 11, 1 צפור[2]. Similarly 2 Ki. 5, 2 וארם יצאו גדודים went forth *as* marauding bands. Jer. 31, 8 קהל גדול ישובו הנה shall return hither *as* a great company (cf. 1 Ki. 8, 65). Zech. 2, 8 פרזות תשב ירושלים shall sit (poet.=be inhabited) *as* open villages[3].

Obs. 1. This construction of the ptcp. is not so frequent as might be expected, in one large class of cases its place being filled by the 'gerundial' inf.:—לֵאמֹר=λέγων (but Arab. قَائِلًا *as* one saying,—accus.). Only very seldom when standing alone is it preceded by וְ: 2 Sa. 13, 20. 1 Ki. 7, 7. Hab. 2, 10. Ps. 55, 20 (on 22, 29, see § 135. 6).

Obs. 2. Still rarer is the use of the participle to describe the contemporaneous condition of the *object* of a verb or preposition: see, however, 1 Chr. 12, 1 לצקלג עוד עצור. 2 Ki. 10, 6 מגדלים. 19, 2 וישלח מתכסים .... Neh. 6, 17. In such cases (except after words like ראה, שמע, השיג, as Ex. 2, 11. 5, 20 (cf. 19). 14, 9. 23, 4) it is usual to prefix the pronoun (§ 160).

The ptcp. is found referring to a *genitive*, Gen. 3, 8 קול י״י מתהלך the sound of Yahweh (lit.) *as* (or *while*) walking (accus.) in the garden. 4, 12. Cant. 5, 2 קול דודי דופק (comp. Del. on these passages), and similarly elsewhere; also (though this is of an exceptional character) Jer. 44, 26

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[1] But אֹסֵף הָאָסִיר (Weir), or אֲסֻפַת אָסִיר would be more usual (Is. 33, 4; Lev. 26, 36. Is. 45, 17. Jer. 22, 19. 30, 14. Ez. 16, 38. 22, 20).

[2] Unless הר כמו צפור should be here read.

[3] See parallels in Arabic to several of the above examples in Wright, l. c. §§ 44c (with the Remarks), 74. Strictly, also, the predicate after היה should be conceived (like that of كَانَ) as an accus., היה נער, for instance, signifying properly 'existed *as* a youth'—Engl. 'was a youth.'

בפי כל איש יהורה אומר[1]: and to a *suffix*, 1 Ki. 14, 6 באה. Ps. 69, 4 *as* I wait (LXX ingeniously מִיַּחֵל [and so Targ.], as 58, 6 מֵהֵמָּה). Job 25, 2; cf. Ps. 107, 5. Job 9, 4. 26, 7-9 (to נגדו, *v.* 6). Isa. 44, 20. (Comp. Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* ii. pp. 47, 267 *bottom.*)

162. Now suppose the idea expressed by the participle has to be *negatived*, how is this accomplished? לא is not used with the ptcp. except on the rarest occasions[2]: אין, involving the addition of the pron. suffix, would be here too periphrastic to be suitable: nothing remains, therefore, but to have recourse to *the finite verb*, either tense being chosen, as the sense may demand[3].

Thus Lev. 1, 17 לא יבדיל *without* dividing it. Ps. 17, 3. 26, 1 (cf. § 34 *end*). Job 8, 12 עוֹדֶנּוּ בְאִבּוֹ לֹא יִקָּטֵף *without* being plucked off[4]. 29, 24 לא יאמינו *when* or *if* they lacked confidence. 31, 34 וָאֶדֹם לא־אצא פתח=*not going* out. Also in לֹא לֹא תֵדַע, יֵדַע *without his* or *thy knowing*, i.e. unexpectedly, Isa. 47, 11[b]. Ps. 35, 8. Pr. 5, 6: cf. with לְ, § 159 *end.*

The *perfect* used similarly affords the only means by which our past partcp. active can be represented in Hebrew: Gen. 44, 4 לא הרחיקו (subordinate to יצאו את העיר) *without having* gone far. Ex. 34, 28. Lev. 13, 23 לא פשתה *without having* spread. Nu. 30, 12 לא הניא. Dt. 21, 1 *it not being* known. Job 9, 25[b].

163. But the same use of the verb *ἀσυνδέτως* is likewise found even where there is no negative:—

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[1] Cf. 2 Sa. 12, 21 בעבור הילד חי on account of the lad *while* alive [comp. Jer. 14, 4 because of the earth (which) is dismayed (pf.)]. 18, 14 בלב אבשלם עודנו חי LXX *ἔτι αὐτοῦ ζῶντος.*

[2] It negatives it as an *attributive*, Jer. 2, 2 לא זרועה. 18, 15 (so בלי 2 Sa. 1, 21. Hos. 7, 8); as a *predicate*, 4, 22. 2 Sa. 3, 34. Ps. 38, 15. Job 12, 3 לא נופל אנכי (more pointed than איננני נופל; cf. Ex. 4, 10: Ewald, § 320[b]). Ez. 4, 14. 22, 24. Dt. 28, 61 (בלי Ps. 19, 4), and very anomalously Nu. 35, 23. Zeph. 3, 5. 1 Ki. 10, 21.

[3] Even as an attributive, the ptcp. must be *continued* by the finite verb, if a negative is involved: Ps. 78, 39. Ex. 34, 7.

[4] Cf. Nu. 11, 33 טרם יכרת (the construction of the entire verse is similar).

Gen. 21, 14 and gave it to Hagar, שָׂם *having placed* it on her shoulder. 44, 12 הֵחֵל LXX excellently *ἀρξάμενος*. 48, 14. Dt. 33, 21b. Josh. 11, 12. Jud. 6, 19 שׂם. 20, 31 הנתקו. 1 Ki. 7, 51 ויבא . . . את הכלים נתן וג׳ and he brought in the vessels . . . , *placing* them etc. 11, 27. 13, 18 (*ψευσάμενος αὐτῷ*). 18, 6 (cf. Nu. 11, 32). Isa. 29, 13 (notice the accents, comparing p. 106, *n.* 3). Jer. 20, 15; Ps. 7, 7. 57, 4 חֵרֵף, 71, 3. 119, 126 הֵפֵרוּ תורתך (reason for 126a).

And in the impf., expressing sometimes concomitance, sometimes a consequence :—Ex. 8, 5b. 7b. Nu. 14, 3 *so that* or *while* our children will be a prey. Isa. 5, 11 *while* wine enflameth them. 27, 9 לא יקומו. 60, 11 לא יסגרו. Jer. 4, 7b. 30 *beautifying* thyself in vain. 13, 16 Kt. ישית. 15, 19. 16, 6 etc. Ps. 103, 5. Job 11, 18b. 30, 28 קַמְתִּי בַקָּהָל אֶשַּׁוֵּעַ surrexi in contione *lamentaturus*[1], Del.

Obs. Add also the *ἀσύνδετα*, Num. 21, 30 וַנְּיֵרֶם אָבַד חֶשְׁבּוֹן. Ez. 17, 4b. 19, 3. 5. 6. 12. Job 16, 8a; with an impf. 1 Sa. 13, 17. 18, 5 וישכיל = ויצא דוד . . . went forth . . ., *doing* wisely. Isa. 42, 14 (cf. § 34 *end*). Jer. 15, 6 אחור תלכי . . . את נטשת אתי. Ps. 50, 20 תֵּשֵׁב בְּאָחִיךָ תִּדְבָּר. Job 30, 22 תשאני אל רוח תרכיבני; in the future, Ez. 5, 2 תכה . . . ולקחת. 24, 11 תתם. Isa. 3, 26b ונקתה לארץ תשב: = and she shall be emptied, *sitting* on the ground. 29, 4 ושפלה מארץ תדברי; and, where the first verb is a subsidiary one, 1 Sa. 20, 19 וְשִׁלַּשְׁתָּ תרר מאד (read תִּפָּקֵד *shalt be missed* with LXX: תֵּרֵד is not an idea that would be qualified by מאד). 20 (if LXX אֶשְׁלֹשׁ for שלשת be correct).

Occasionally the impf. is subordinated to a previous verb with a syntactical freedom better known in Arabic or Syriac: Isa. 42, 21 יהוה חפץ . . . יגדיל תורה ויאדיר Yahweh was pleased . . . *that he should* make the teaching great and glorious. Job 19, 3 לא תבשו תהכרו לי (l. תחכרו). 32, 22 לא ידעתי אֲכַנֶּה = I know not *how to* give flattering titles. Lam. 4, 14 לא יוכלו יִגָּעוּ they are unable *to* touch (cf. Nu. 22, 6). Is. 47, 1b = 5b לא תוסיפי יקראו לך (Wright, ii. § 8d: Matth. 8, 28 Pesh.

[1] Cf. 16, 8b ויקם בי כחשי נפני יענה and my leanness riseth up against me, *that it may answer* (or *answering*) in my face. 24, 14. Ps. 88, 11. 102, 14, likewise (as Del. remarks) after קם. Comp. the Arabic usage, Wright, ii. § 8d, e, and below, p. 244, towards the bottom.

such that no man לְבִלְתִּי אֶפֶשׁ אִישׁ=יוכל יעבר; Luke 18, 13 לֹא יָדַע עֲשׂוֹת; לֹא יָדַעְתִּי I know not *how to build*, cited by Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* § 267: but more commonly with לְ): Hebrew, in such cases (except when it throws the two verbs into the *same* tense, Hos. 1, 6. 5, 11. 6, 4. 9, 9. Jer. 13, 18), prefers almost invariably the infinitive.

Peculiar also is the union by ו in Gen. 30, 27 (וְ). 47, 6 (cf. Job 23, 3 knew *so that* I might find him). Ct. 2, 3. Esth. 8, 6 (consec., p. 130).

164. The secondary predicate is often expressed by a short clause consisting of אֵין, לֹא, בְּלִי, followed by a subst., which may be attached to either a subst. or a verb: so for instance the phrase אֵין מִסְפָּר *without number*, Joel 1, 6 al. (with וְ Ps. 104, 25. 105, 34: cf. 72, 12. Job 5, 9, and ולא 29, 12); Gen. 31, 50. Ex. 21, 11 אֵין כֶּסֶף. 1 Ki. 22, 1 they continued three years אין מלחמה. Isa. 47, 1 אֵין כִּסֵּא. Hos. 7, 11 יוֹנָה פוֹתָה אֵין לֵב. Ps. 88, 5 like a man אֵין אֵיָל *without* strength. Pr. 25, 28 עיר פרוצה אין חומה. Lam. 5, 3 Kt. Job 8, 11. 24, 10 naked, they walk up and down (Pi'el) בְּלִי לָבוּשׁ *without* covering. 33, 9. 34, 6 (cf. Ps. 59, 5). 24 יָרֹעַ בַּבִּירִים לֹא חֵקֶר he breaketh in pieces the mighty *without inquisition;* 12, 24 בתהו לא דרך in the *pathless* waste. 26, 2 זְרוֹעַ לֹא־עֹז the arm *without* strength. 38, 26[a] להמטיר על־ארץ לא־איש. 2 Sa. 23, 4 a morning לֹא עֲבוֹת *without* clouds (or, idiomatically, *a cloudless* morning). This use of בלי and לא, however, is confined to poetry, except in 1 Chr. 2, 30. 32 וימת לא בנים (Ewald, § 286[g]).

Obs. בבלי and בלא are met with occasionally in prose (as well as poetry), but not באין (often in Prov.): ואין is, however, more common than אין alone. The Chronicler has several times לאין (*in the condition of*[1] *no* . . . = *without*), but in a manner peculiar to himself.

165. In almost all the preceding examples, the circumstantial clause has been *appended* to the principal sentence: we have, however, already met with a few instances in which a participial clause was prefixed (§ 161), and we shall soon

[1] The לְ of norm or state, as in לבטח, etc.: Ewald, § 217[d].

find that such a position is by no means uncommon, or confined to the participle alone.

If we compare a sentence such as 1 Ki. 13, 20 with one like *v.* 23, we shall at once see that the participial clause הֵם יֹשְׁבִים in the former is, in position and force, the precise counterpart of the adverbial clause אַחֲרֵי אָכְלוֹ וגו׳ in the latter; and that like it, it notifies a circumstance strictly subordinate to the main narrative, in a manner exactly reproducible in Greek by the use of the gen. abs. (LXX *καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καθημένων κ.τ.λ.*). The participle as thus used is frequent, especially in the historical books: from the analogy of the corresponding expressions in the classical languages, it may be appropriately termed *the participle absolute*[1].

Thus Gen. 42, 35 and it came to pass, הֵם מְרִיקִים *as they were emptying* their sacks, that they found etc. 2 Ki. 2, 11 . . . והנה . . . ויהי המה הולכים. 8, 5 LXX *αὐτοῦ ἐξηγουμένου*. If it is required to express *past* time, the perfect naturally takes the place of the participle:—Gen. 27, 30 and it came to pass, אַךְ יָצֹא יָצָא יַעֲקֹב Jacob *having* only just gone out, that Esau his brother came in. Josh. 4, 18 נתקו. 2 Ki. 12, 7[b]. And add Gen. 15, 17 ויהי השמש בָּאָה, a passage in which the *perfect* makes it evident (quite apart from considerations of gender) that ויהי must not be taken closely with השמש: rather 'and it came to pass, *the sun having gone down*.' Compare also Gen. 24, 15. 2 Ki. 8, 21 ויהי הוא קם לילה ויכה[2]. 20, 4. Jer. 37, 13. 1 Chr. 15, 29.

Obs. It should, however, be noted that in several of the passages last cited, the accents closely unite ויהי to the word following, so that at least by the punctuators they were probably understood differently: thus Gen. 24, 15 ויהי־הוא. 2 Ki. 8, 21 (like ויהי בונה Gen. 4, 17). 20, 4 and Isaiah was—he had not gone out etc. (cf. Isa. 22, 7 *and there were* thy choicest valleys—they were filled with chariots). Cf. § 121. *Obs.* 2.

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[1] Cf. p. 147 *note*, and § 126.

[2] In the parallel, 2 Chr. 21, 9 הוא is omitted, and the passage can only be naturally understood according to § 135. 5.

The analogous construction in the future is found Josh. 22, 18. 1 Ki. 18, 12.

166. In the passages cited the participle clearly constitutes a circumstantial clause. The instances in which no ויהי precedes, such as 1 Ki. 14, 17 הִיא בָּאָה וְהַנַּעַר מֵת, or Gen. 44, 3 הַבֹּקֶר אוֹר וְהָאֲנָשִׁים שֻׁלְּחוּ, stand upon a different footing. Here the temporal clause is no longer *subordinate* to the main description (וַיְהִי כְּבֹאָהּ וַיָּמָת הַנַּעַר): it is *parallel* to it, and *co*-ordinate. As a rule, it is true, a time-determination takes a secondary position; but where it is desired to confer some additional vividness upon the description, instead of being treated as a passing detail, it is made a prominent and independent feature in the picture.

167. In fact, it may be observed, even in the classical languages, that time-determinations do not always occupy a subordinate position: in graphic or elevated writing particularly they are often placed on one and the same level with the rest of the narrative. A few instances are worth citing:—Il. xix. 1–3. Dem. *de cor.* § 218 *ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται·* how much fuller and richer the picture, than if the orator had simply said, *ἑσπέρας γὰρ ἦκεν ἀγγέλλων τις κ.τ.λ.*, or employed a word like *ἐπειδή*! Soph. Phil. 354 ff. *ἦν δ' ἦμαρ ἤδη δεύτερον πλέοντί μοι* **Κἀγὼ** *πικρὸν Σίγειον οὐρίῳ πλάτῃ* Κατηγόμην. Thuc. i. 50. 6 *ἤδη δ' ἦν ὀψὲ καὶ ἐπεπαιώνιστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν* **καὶ** *οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκροῦοντο·* iv. 69. 3. Hdt. iii. 108 *end.* iv. 181. 5 *μεσαμβρίη τέ ἐστι,* **καὶ** *τὸ κάρτα γίγνεται ψυχρόν,* 'it is noon, and the water becomes quite cold.' 6 *παρέρχονταί τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἠῶ.* Liv. xliii. 4 'vixdum ad consulem se pervenisse, *et* audisse oppidum expugnatum' etc. Verg. Georg. ii. 80 Conington, 'nec longum tempus, *et* ingens Exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos.' Aen. iii. 9 and often.

168. But it will still, perhaps, be asked, If this be all, why the peculiar form assumed in the passages in question, which

in others becomes even more striking still, as 1 Sa. 9, 11[1] הֲמָּה עֹלִים . . . וְהֵמָּה מֹצְאוֹ ? why, if nothing more was intended by the writer, was he not satisfied with the more simple and obvious form וַיַּעֲלוּ . . . וַיִּמְצְאוּ ? (cf. § 149 *n.*) The answer is evident. Such a form, being wholly devoid of emphasis, would not have suited his purpose. He wishes to mark as vividly as he can the time at which a given event took place, *with reference to another event.* In order to do this, he makes the latter prominent, by *elevating* it from the lower position it commonly holds, and causing it to *confront* the former as conspicuously and decidedly as the language will permit. In the passages from the Iliad and Demosthenes this antithetical relation is indicated by the *μὲν . . . δέ:* in Hebrew it can only be expressed by the position of the two subjects—both, contrary to the usual custom (at least with nouns) by which the *verb* stands first, being placed in the foreground. Thus in היא באה והנער מת two actions belonging to *different* subjects, in המה עלים והמה מצאו two actions of the *same* subject are thrown into strong contrast with each other: and the special relation which they are intended to bear to one another is made keenly palpable.

169. We may now collect the principal passages in which this very idiomatic and forcible construction is employed:— Gen. 38, 25 הִוא מוּצֵאת וְהִיא שָׁלְחָה she *was being* brought forth, when she sent etc. (A.V. 'when she was brought forth, she sent,' which though expressing the *general* sense of the original, does not bring before the mind, with equal clearness, the picture הוא מוצאת, upon which the writer dwells). Jud. 18, 3 המה עם בית מיכה והמה הכירו וגו׳; and with a change of subject, 19, 11. 1 Sa. 20, 36 הנער רץ והוא ירה. 2 Sa. 20, 8. 1 Ki. 14, 17. 2 Ki. 2, 23. 4, 5[2].

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[1] Cf. Hdt. iii. 76. 2 ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο.

[2] What are we to do with 10, 12 f. הוא בית עקר הרֹעים . . . ויהוא מצא,

We find עוֹד in the first clause, Gen. 29, 9 עודנו מדבר ורחל בָּאה he was still speaking, *when* Rachel entered in. Nu. 11, 33 (hence, only varied in expression, Ps. 78, 30 f.: cf. in *form* also Job 8, 12 . . . עודנו . . . ולפני). 1 Ki. 1, 22. 42 (cf. of future time *v.* 14). 2 Ki. 6, 33. Dan. 9, 20 f.; and וְהִנֵּה in the second clause. 1 Sa. 9, 14 והנה שמואל יֹצֵא לקראתם המה באים . . . 17, 23. Job 1, 18b–19.

If the sense demands it, a *perfect* may of course stand in the first clause:—Gen. 19, 23 השמש יצא על הארץ ולוט בא צערה. 44, 3. 4 הם יצאו ויוסף אמר they had gone out of the city, *and* (or *when*) Joseph said. Jud. 3, 24 והוא יצא ועבדיו באו now *he* had gone out, when his servants came in. 15, 14 הוא בא עד לחי ופלשתים הריעו לקראתו. 18, 22. 20, 39 f. 2 Sa. 2, 24 al.; cf. also Gen. 7, 6. 19, 4. 24, 45, and above, § 128[1].

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where the pronoun *followed* by the subject to which it refers is unparalleled? I venture to think that for ויהוא we ought to read והוא: the change is very slight, and would bring the passage into complete conformity with Jud. 18, 3. 1 Sa. 9, 11 etc.

[1] Ewald adds Jud. 7, 19. 2 Sa. 11, 4, in both places neglecting the *athnach*, and supposing the second clause to be introduced exceptionally by ו. Of 2 Sam., also, he says, 'das *part.* dem sinne nach beinahe schon einem *part. perf.* im Griechischen entspricht:' but if the author had intended to convey such an idea of past time, he would assuredly have written הָיְתָה הִתְקַדְּשָׁה מטמאתה וְהִיא. והיא מתקדשת can only be rendered '*as* (or *while*) she purified herself from her uncleanness:' compare the writer's note *ad loc.*

From § 161 *Obs.* 2 it will be plain that the idiomatic equivalent of *καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπικαλούμενον* is ויסקלו את־סט׳ והוא קרא: so Luke 4, 1 והוא מלא (after מן הירדן). 35 לא הרע־לו מאומה (§ 163). Compare the renderings in Delitzsch's version.

APPENDIX II.

On the Use of the Jussive Form.

170. The use of the modal forms in Hebrew, particularly of the jussive, presents great difficulties to the grammarian. These difficulties would certainly in great measure vanish, if it could be legitimately supposed that the modal forms were destitute of any special significance, being assumed for 'euphony' or as 'poetical licences' etc., or (in the case of the cohortative *-ah*) being merely 'paragogic;' that, consequently, their presence might be disregarded, and the tenses translated, if need be, in the manner of mere imperfects. But the multitude of instances occurring in the Old Testament, in which the meaning of these forms is clear and unambiguous, forbids such a supposition,—at least unless we are prepared to shew that a particular author wrote incorrectly, or adopted some local style, or else that he lived during a period at which the forms in question had lost[1] their customary significance. We are seldom in a position which enables us to do this: the result is, that grammarians have been driven sometimes to the adoption of strange expedients in order to overcome the disagreement existing between the meaning apparently forced upon them by the form, and that which the context seems to demand.

171. Before proceeding further, however, it will be desirable to give a synopsis of the passages in which the difficulty

[1] The same suggestion is made by Olshausen, § 257[a], p. 571: the forms in question, however, occur frequently in passages which are not so late as to make such a supposition probable.

is most seriously felt, including a few which, though they have been cited elsewhere[1], are still worth some reconsideration.

Ex. 22, 14 כִּי יַבְעֶר־אִישׁ. Lev. 15, 24 וּתְהִי. Dt. 32, 8 יַצֵּב. 18 תֶּשִׁי. Isa. 12, 1 יָשֹׁב. 27, 5 אוֹ יַחֲזֵק. 42, 6 וְאַחְזֵק. 63, 3 וְיֵז. Ez. 14, 7 וְיַעַל. Hos. 6, 1 יַךְ. 11, 4 וְאַט. Joel 2, 20 וְתַעַל. Mic. 3, 4 וְיַסְתֵּר. Zeph. 2, 13 וְיָשֵׂם . . . וְיֵט. Ps. 11, 6 יַמְטֵר. 12, 4 יַכְרֵת. 25, 9 יַדְרֵךְ. 47, 4 יַדְבֵּר. 58, 5 יַאְטֵם. 68, 15 תַּשְׁלֵג. 85, 14 וְיָשֵׂם. Pr. 12, 26 יָתֵר. 15, 25 וְיַצֵּב. Job 13, 27 וְתָשֵׂם. 15, 33 וְיַשְׁלֵךְ. 17, 2 וְ . . . תָלַן. 18, 9 יַחֲזֵק. 12 יְהִי. 20, 23 וְיַמְטֵר . . . יְהִי. 26 יֵרַע. 28 יִגֶל. 23, 9 וְלֹא אָחַז׃. 11 וְלֹא אָט׃. 24, 14 וְ . . . יְהִי. 25 וְיָשֵׂם. 27, 8 כִּי יֵשֶׁל. 22 וְיַשְׁלֵךְ. 33, 11 יָשֵׂם. 21 יִכֶל. 27 יָשֹׁר. 34, 29 וְיַסְתֵּר. 37 וְיֶרֶב. 36, 14 תָּמֹת. 15 וְיִגֶל. 38, 24 יָפֵץ. 39, 26 יַאֲבֶר־נֵץ. 40, 19 יַגֵּשׁ. Lam. 3, 50 עַד יַשְׁקִיף וְיֵרֶא. Qoh. 12, 7 וְיָשֹׁב. Dan. 8, 12 וְתַשְׁלֵךְ. 11, 4 וְתֵחָץ. 10 and 28 וְיָשֹׁב. 16 וְיַעַשׂ. 17 וְיָשֵׂם. 18 and 19 וְיָשֵׁב. 25 וְיָעֵר. 30 וְיָבֵן; occasionally also after לא (§ 50 *a*, *Obs.*).

172. The passages here collected are in many ways very dissimilar; and the reader should examine each separately by itself. In some, for instance, there is no reason why the verbs should not be understood strictly as jussives: so Zeph. 2, 13 (§ 50). Ps. 11, 6. 12, 4 (where there is nothing to suggest a historical reference, above, § 84). Others, as Lev. 15. Ez. 14 (who separates himself *that he should* cherish his idols in his heart). Lam. 3, 50. Job 24, 25, in all of which the infin. with ל might be substituted for the jussive and וְ without appreciable alteration in sense (cf. § 64, and Job 9, 33 where, as Del. remarks, יָשֵׁת is equivalent in meaning to לָשִׁית), may be referred to § 62. The difficulty lies rather with those which, as it seems, involve merely the statement of a fact, and in which, therefore, the verb is jussive in form only, and not in meaning. One solution here proposed is that וַ is omitted, or replaced by וְ. This is adopted by Ewald,

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[1] Cf. §§ 50 *a*, 58, 84, 121 *Obs.*, 155 *Obs.*

§§ 233[a], 343[b], and Dillmann (on Job 33, 21), and is extended by Hitzig (see his notes on Ps. 8, 7. 11, 6 etc.) so as to include even cases like Ps. 58, 5 (for וְיֹאטַם, וְ being the continuation of the attributive חֵרֵשׁ: cf. § 76 *a*), and 68, 15 (וְ following a time-determination, according to § 127 *β*). Böttcher, on the other hand, adhering to the idea of a real jussive, ii. p. 183, goes so far as to affirm that this mood may express 'das übel empfundene *muss* des fremden Eigenwillens Ij. xiii. 27. xxxiii. 11. xxiv. 14. xxxiv. 37:' but how such a reversal of its ordinary meaning is possible, it is as difficult to comprehend as in the case of the cohortative, §§ 51–53. The former solution is doubtless correct in principle, at least so far as regards the omission of וְ, though it is somewhat far-fetched to have recourse to it for Ps. 58 and 68; its truth has been already recognized, § 83, and it only remains to enquire whether any more specific ground can be alleged for the choice of the apocopated form in preference to the ordinary imperfect.

173. It may be observed in most of the instances in question that the abbreviated form stands at the *beginning of a clause*. Now this is just the position that would be occupied by the same form if it were preceded by וְ: it seems allowable therefore to suppose that (e.g.) יָשֻׂם was retained primarily as a reminiscence of the normal וַיָּשֻׂם. At the same time, from the manner in which it was used with וְ, the shorter form must have become strongly associated with the idea of a connexion with what precedes; and the desire to preserve some expression of this suggests itself as another motive contributing probably towards its retention. But, when it stands later in the sentence, where וְ would be out of place, and where it was no longer the Hebrew custom to give *formal* expression to that connexion, the impf. appears in its usual form: e.g. Job 13, 27 וַתָּשֶׂם, but 23, 6 יָשֻׂם; 18, 9 יחזק, but 8, 15 יחזיק; 34, 29 וְיַסְתֵּר, but והוא ישקט, the connexion with ו being broken by the emphatic הוא. This explanation may be accepted as satisfactory for those cases in which the

shorter form is found without a preceding וְ (§ 84 *β*)[1]: in other words, יַחֲזֵק, for instance (Job 18, 9), may be regarded as a poetical abbreviation of וַיַּחֲזֵק: but even then, we must beware of applying it to cases where the reference is to the future, or where for any other reason וְ could not have stood (e.g. Job 24, 25, where evidently וְיָשֵׂם could not follow מי יכזיבני).

174. On the other hand, where the shorter form occurs, preceded by וְ (§ 84 *α*), it must be admitted to be doubtful whether the punctuation represents a genuine tradition, and whether וְ (or וְ with the *indicative* mood) should not be restored. The preference for וְ (p. 98 *top*) must be attributed, it is probable, not to the original authors, but to the *punctuators*. In some cases the punctuators have apparently followed a false analogy, in others they seem to have been guided by a false exegesis. The frequent use of the jussive form (as a *voluntative*) with וְ appears to have led the Massorites (who probably had an imperfect sense of the true force of the jussive form) to adopt mechanically the same punctuation for cases to which it was not properly applicable. Thus in Pr. 15, 25 we should in all probability vocalize וְיַצֵּב, in Job 13, 27 וְתָשֵׂם (or וַתָּשֶׂם)[2]. 15, 33 וַיַּשְׁלֵךְ. 20, 23 וַיַּמְטֵר (unless יַמְטֵר . . . יְהִי may be referred to § 152). 27, 22 וַיַּשְׁלֵךְ. 34, 37 וְיָרֶב. In Ps. 85, 14[3]. Mic. 3, 4. Job 34, 29. Qoh. 12, 7 the *defectiva scriptio* has most probably occasioned the incorrect vocalization; and we shall hardly be wrong in reading וְיָשֵׂם, וַיַּסְתֵּר, וְיָשֵׁב (cf. b תָּשׁוּב . . . וְ)[4]. Elsewhere the

[1] As Ps. 25, 9. 47, 4. Job 18, 9. 12. 20, 23 יהי. 26. 28. 33, 11. 21. 27. Hos. 6, 1. In several of these cases the form is part of the consonantal text, and does not depend merely on the punctuation. But Pr. 12, 26 (where ו would be out of place) we ought no doubt to punctuate (with Hitz., Strack) יָתֵר, probably also (with Del. as well) מִרְעֵהוּ ('spieth out his pasture').

[2] Comp. Dillmann, *Hiob* (ed. 2), 1891, *ad loc.*

[3] The jussive sense, suggested § 58, seems hardly probable here.

[4] Qoh. 10, 20. 12, 4 the ordinary vocalization וְיָקוּם, יָנִיד is preferable grammatically to the Massoretic reading (Baer) וְיָקוּם, יָנִיד

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anomaly appears to be due to false exegesis. Thus Isa. 12, 1 יָשֹׁב *followed* by וּתְנחמני can hardly be translated except as a prayer (cf. 55, 7. Jud. 7, 3. Ps. 71, 21), and this, no doubt, is the sense intended by the punctuation (comp. the fut. of the Targ.[1]); the *past* sense, which the context requires, would seem to call for וַתְּנחמני (cf. Ps. 90, 3 תָּשֵׁב . . . וַתֹּאמר). 42, 6 is analogous to Hos. 11, 4: in both these passages the vocalization with וָ commends itself, as that intended by the original authors (followed in Hosea by a bare impf., as Jer. 15, 6, § 163 *Obs.*)[2]. And Isa. 63, 3 וְיֵז is almost certainly a mispunctuation for וַיִּז[3] (observe the following *perfect*, אגאלתי), originating in the two preceding verbs being referred incorrectly to the future[4]. So Dan. 8, 12 וַתַּשְׁלֵךְ.

Obs. Ps. 58, 5 a sense of the connexion between the relative clause and its antecedent may perhaps, through an indistinctly felt analogy with the connexion expressed by וַ·, have determined the punctuation יאטֵם: Dt. 32, 8. Ps. 68, 15 the original vocalization was probably תַּשְׁלִג, יַצִּב. The same may be supposed to have been the case with the four instances after לא (§ 50 *a*, *Obs.*): while in 2 Sa. 18, 14 the use of the cohort. אחילה may be accounted for by the preceding לא having been viewed as specially negativing כן. And Job 27, 8 it is probable (provided the text be otherwise correct) that we should punctuate, as Dillm. (ed. 2) suggests, יָשֹׁל or יִשַּׁל.

175. Of the remaining passages, Isa. 27, 5 receives light

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[1] וכדו יתוב רוגזך מיני ותרחם עלי.

[2] With Isa. 42, 6 comp. the *past* tenses in the parallel 49, 2.

[3] So Cheyne (crit. note), Dillm., R. V. (and of course, correspondingly, וָאדרכם, וָארמסם, *vv.* 5. 6 וָאַבַּיט, וָאשתומם, etc.).

[4] 'In order to preclude the supposition that the deliverance was already past,' Luzzatto, as cited by G. F. Moore, *Theol. Lit.-zeitung*, 1887, col. 292 ('Edom' being interpreted by Jewish exegesis of Rome, or, more generally, of the imperial Christian power). Probably, also, in several of the other passages cited § 84 *a* the original vocalization was with *waw* consec. Comp. Moore, *l.c.*, who observes that in Isa. 51, 2 this is the sense expressed by the older Jewish tradition, as represented by LXX and Targ., but that the intention of the punctuation, on the contrary, is to interpret the verbs (incorrectly) as futures (hence וַאֲברכהו וארבהו instead of וָ׳ וָ׳). So 48, 3[a] we should expect naturally

from an Arabic idiom[1], '*or else let* him take hold of my stronghold'='*unless* he take hold' (Germ. 'es *sei* denn dass man meinen schuz ergriffe'); Dt. 32, 18 תשי must of course come from שָׁיָה (like יֶ֫חִי from חיה): as, however, the Semitic languages know only נָשָׁה and שָׁהָה (=سها Qor. 51, 11) in the sense of *forget*, it is probable that the text is incorrect, and that we should, with Olsh. p. 511 and Aug. Müller, restore תִּשֶּׁה. Job 17, 2 is doubtless '*so that* mine eye *resteth*' (§ 62), which *from the connexion* is equivalent to 'and my eye *must rest*:' 23, 9. 11. 24, 14 appear to be isolated examples of *tmesis* (cf. § 85); 36, 14, see § 64 *Obs.* or § 84 β; Ex. 22, 4 and Job 39, 26 the shorter form may have been chosen by the punctuators on account of the *maqqeph* following[2]; and Job 40, 19 (if the text be sound[3]) A. V. is probably sub-

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וָאשמיעם (cf. 3ᵇ וַתָּבאנה), 57, 17 וָאכהו and וָאקצף (so Dillm.): on 43, 28 see p. 70 *note*. For וְאשיגם Ps. 18, 38 the parallel text 2 Sa. 22, 38 has וָאשמידם (as it has in *v.* 39 impff. with *waw* consec. for the impff. ἀσυνδέτως of Ps. 18): but here, probably, the more graphic, frequentative sense expressed by the text of Ps. 18, is in both verses original (cf. 38ᵇ. 39ᵃ ᵝ. 40ᵇ). Elsewhere, also, it is sometimes difficult not to suspect the existing text to be incorrectly vocalized: Job 3, 11, for instance, וְאגוע would by analogy be וָאגוע (cf. Gen. 31, 27. Jer. 20, 17: § 74 *a*), and *v.* 13 וְאשקוט would be וָאשקוט (cf. Ex. 9, 15: § 141). And one wonders why the punctuation of ו is not uniform in (*e.g.*) Ps. 104, 32ᵇ. Job 5, 18ᵃ. 12, 15ᵃ,ᵇ and Job 14, 10. 20ᵃ. 33, 26. So, § 153. 3, it may be doubted whether the explanation of the jussive is not in some cases artificial, and whether we should not read Is. 41 וָארא, Ps. 104 וַיְהִי (§ 84 β). Pr. 27, 17, as pointed, can hardly be taken except as an *admonition* (Del., Nowack): the affirmative rend. (cf. R. V.) implies in *a* יֻחָד (or יָחֵד, sc. הַמַּחֵד), and in *b* יָחֵד.

[1] Where, however, the *subjunctive* mood is employed (cf. for a similar variation, p. 67 *n.*): Ewald, § 629; Wright, ii. § 15 (6), 'I will certainly kill the unbeliever أَوْ يُسْلِمَ *unless* he become a Muslim.'

[2] On the (false) analogy of וַיַּחֲזֶק־בּוֹ, וַיַּגֶּד־לָהּ, etc. (cf. Olsh. p. 570). Otherwise König i. 275 (one of the traces of the older formation of Hif'il with *ṣere* instead of *ḥireq*).

[3] The LXX have here πεποιημένον ἐγκαταπαίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων

stantially correct, lit. '*let* him that made him *bring* his sword *nigh* to him!' (for none else can do so.)

Obs. Joel 2, 20 ותעל is extremely difficult: the reference being clearly to the future, וְ cannot be regarded as a substitute for וַ·: the form must, therefore, be that of a real jussive, but this, *after the previous* ועלה באשו, whether it be rendered *and let* . . . or *that* . . . *may*, seems unsuited to the context. We are almost constrained to suspect an error in the reading; though the excision of ועלה באשו as a gloss, proposed by Merx, perhaps weakens the latter part of the *v.* too much to be probable. In Dan. 11 (where, for the same reason, וְ cannot be in place of וַ·), in so far as the instances may not be presumed to depend, like 8, 12 (§ 174), upon a false punctuation, we may be content to suppose that the mood was used without any recollection of its distinctive signification[1]. It is strange that Dr. Pusey (*Daniel*, ed. 2, p. 591) should have accepted Ewald's classification, § 343[c], as satisfactory. A distinction ought obviously to be made between such cases as Isa. 19, 20. Ez. 33, 31, where the verb after ו is the simple imperfect, and those like Joel 2, 20, where it is jussive: the former, though less usual, present no real difficulty (see § 134), it is the latter which embarrass us. Dr. Pusey says, 'the condensation of this idiom, the use of the apocopated form, with the simple *and*, shews there is great emphasis in it:' but by what process can a wish or command, such as we know to be signified by the apocopated imperfect, be transformed into a mere expression of emphasis? Certainly the jussive, like the imperative, is sometimes employed in a rhetorical style with brilliancy and effect; but then, as we saw §§ 56–58, it retains its rightful force, and, in fact, would not be effective unless it did retain it: in the instances alleged, however, its proper meaning is taken from it, and a *different* meaning, incompatible with, and *not derivable from*, the meaning borne elsewhere, is substituted in its place. Such a substitution is contrary to all analogy or probability; and it is preferable to acquiesce in a solution which is in agreement with a known principle of language.

αὐτοῦ, which points to a reading הֶעָשׂוּי לְשַׂחֵק בּוֹ 'which is made (for Him) to play with him' (cf. Ps. 104, 26, as understood by Ew., Hitz., Kay, Cheyne, and R.V. *marg.*) for העשו יגש חרבו, which is possibly right: observe that the difference in the *ductus litterarum* is slight.

[1] The Hebrew of the book of Daniel is late; and in other respects also the syntax of ch. 11 is much inferior to that of the usual prophetic style.

APPENDIX III.

On Arabic as Illustrative of Hebrew[1].

176. In few departments of knowledge has the 'comparative' method of enquiry been more fruitful of valuable and interesting results than in the investigation of the phenomena presented by language. What that method is, and, at least in so far as regards the Aryan languages, what some of the more important of the results alluded to are, will be familiar to most English readers from the well-known volumes of Professor Max Müller, or the more recent work of Professor Sayce, in which the principles of Comparative Philology are at once lucidly set forth and abundantly illustrated. A general acquaintance may, therefore, be presupposed with the character, for example, of the cumulative evidence by which the

[1] The following appendix (of which the substance appeared first in 1874) is now, strictly speaking, superseded by the late Dr. Wright's admirable *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1890). It has, nevertheless, been deemed expedient to retain it, in the hope that it may prove serviceable to some who have not access to Dr. Wright's more comprehensive volume. Two other works in which particular departments of the same subject may be studied, are (1) P. de Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (1889), and (2) J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen* (1889, 1891): cf. Aug. Müller, *ZDMG.* 1891, pp. 221–238. Very valuable contributions to the same subject are also to be found in Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik*, and in the same author's articles and reviews in the *ZDMG.* (and elsewhere), e.g. *ZDMG.* 1883, p. 525 ff. (on verbs ע"י in Hebrew), 1884, p. 407 ff. (the terminations of the Semitic perfect), 1886, p. 718 ff. (on Friedr. Delitzsch's *Prolegomena*), etc.

direct or collateral genealogical relationship, subsisting between the languages belonging to a given family, may be established, with the nature of the successive modifications a language may undergo, with the laws which regulate the particular and distinctive form assumed in each by the same word, and with the mutual illustration which languages thus allied afford of one another.

177. The same method is, however, no less applicable to the Semitic family of speech than to the Aryan. A merely superficial comparison of the vocabulary and accidence—to say nothing of the syntax—is sufficient to reveal the fact that all the Semitic languages are intimately connected with one another, and that the nations speaking them must, at some period or other, have dwelt together in a common home[1]: more accurate and systematic research shews that none of them can lay claim to *exclusive* priority above the rest, as being the one from which the others are derived (in the same manner, for instance, as the Romance languages are derived from Latin), but that they are the descendants of a deceased ancestor, whose most prominent characteristics, though with different degrees of clearness and purity, they all still reflect. Each after its separation from the parent stock pursued a path of its own, some, as it would seem, through long years preserving almost intact many of the features they originally possessed; others, on the contrary, lopping these off, or else assimilating them, with greater or less rapidity. It is just in virtue of this *uneven development* of language, just in virtue of the fact that what is mutilated and obscured in one language is frequently in another language of the same family retained in a relatively unimpaired condition, and transmitted so into historical times, that the

[1] On theories respecting the probable locality of this common home, comp. Nöldeke in the *Encycl. Britannica* (ed. 9), art. 'Semitic Languages,' vol. xxi. p. 642, and Wright, *Compar. Gramm.* ch. 1, p. 5 ff.

explanation of one by the other is still possible, even when the relationship lies no longer in a direct line.

178. Are there, it will be asked, any principles, analogous to those embodied in 'Grimm's Law,' regulating the interchange of consonants between the different Semitic languages? 'Comparative philology,' writes Professor Sayce[1], 'is based on the recognition that the same word will be represented by different combinations of sounds in a group of allied dialects or languages, and that each combination will be governed by a fixed phonetic law. An English *h*, for example, will answer to a Greek and Latin *k*, an English *t* to a German and a Sanskrit *d*. When once a sound is given in a language, we may know the sounds which must correspond to it in the cognate languages. Now and then, of course, subordinate laws will interfere with the working of the general law: but unless such an interference can be proved, we must never disregard the general law for the sake of an etymological comparison, however tempting.... The laws of phonology are as undeviating in their action as the laws of physical science, and where the spelling does not mislead us will display themselves in every word of genuine growth. Even the vowels cannot be changed and shifted arbitrarily.' It follows that the laws of this kind, operative in the Semitic languages, must be determined, if the true relations subsisting between those languages are to be ascertained, and reckless etymologizing avoided. When this has been done, we are in a position, for example, to test the value of a proposed derivation, and may even be able to fix the relationship of an outlying form, as when Lagarde completes the identification, suggested by J. D. Michaelis in 1792, of צעיף[2].

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[1] *Introduction to the Science of Language* (1880), i. p. 303 f.

[2] Admirable as the work of Gesenius in his *Thesaurus* is, the stage which the comparative study of the Semitic languages had reached in the author's lifetime did not always permit him to make his etymological notices fully adequate; and in his treatment of roots, the expressions

A scientific comparison of the Semitic languages, based upon the necessary systematic classification of the phonetic phenomena presented by them, must be sought in special treatises, such as those named at the beginning of the chapter (p. 219). Two or three illustrations of the results gained by the comparative study of these languages may, however, be given here. Thus the following specimen-lists exhibit, in a tabular form, some important and clearly-established laws, analogous in character to 'Grimm's law' in the Aryan languages: the first is derived chiefly from Lagarde, *Semitica* I (Gött. 1878), pp. 22–27, and shews that *when Heb.* ץ = *Aram.* ע, *the Arabic equivalent is* ض[1]. The meaning of this equation of course is, that the sound with which the words cited were originally pronounced by the *common* ancestors of the Arabs, the Arameans, and the Hebrews, in their common home, was gradually modified, after different families or tribes had separated from the common stock, and acquired independent existence, until it was finally fixed to ض in Arabic, ץ in Hebrew, and ע in Aramaic[2].

(1) In 'Anlaut:'

ضَأْنٌ	= צֹאן	= עֵז, עִזִּים.
ضَبٌّ a species of *lizard*	= צָב Lev. 11, 29	= עַכְבָּר.

used by him, especially the phrase *vicina radix*, may sometimes tempt the reader to confuse what ought to be kept distinct. The interchange of allied sounds in different dialects must, however, be distinguished from the use of allied sounds—or groups of sounds—to express *allied ideas* in the *same* dialect: e.g. a harder or softer palatal or dental, as סנר and סכר, מזג and מסך, גוז and קצץ, כנס and גנז. These instances shew further how in a language particular sounds go together and determine each other: גו׳, קצ׳, כס׳, for example, but not נצ׳. So in Mandaic קט׳ becomes regularly גט׳; סט׳ becomes צט׳.

[1] And in Ethiopic (if the corresponding word is in use) ፀ.

[2] Words *borrowed* in historical times, by one dialect from another, naturally do not come within the operation of the law: see some examples in the foot-notes.

ضَبَرَ *to gather* in bundles	= צָבַר Gen. 41, 49	= ܥܒܘܪܐ[1] *corn.* [*dense.*
ضَبَطَ *to guard, hold*	= צבט Ruth 2, 14	= ? ܥܒܛ[2] *be close,*
ضَحِكَ	= צחק	= ܓܚܟ (for ܥܚܩ).
ضَرَّ *to harm*	= צָרַר *be hostile*[3] צָר *adversary*	= עָר *adversary* (Dan. 4, 16[4]).
ضَرَّةٌ *one of two wives*	= צָרָה 1 Sa. 1, 6	= ܥܪܬܐ 1 Sa. 1, 6.
* * * [5]	= צֶמֶר	= ܥܡܪܐ *wool.*
ضَاقَ Qor. 9, 119	= צָק	= ܥܩ, עָק (Isa. 49, 20 Targ.).
ضَالٌّ *lotus*	= צֶאֱלִים Job 40, 21 f.	= ܥܐܠܐ[6] *βάτος.*

Where there is already ע in the root, Syriac avoids the double guttural by substituting ܐ:—

ضِلْعٌ	= צֵלָע	= ܐܠܥܐ (Targ. עֲלַע).
ضَفْدَعٌ	= צְפַרְדֵּעַ	= ܐܘܪܕܥܐ (Targ. עוּרְדְּעָן).
ضَبْعٌ *hyaena*	= צְבֹעִים	= ܐܦܥܐ Sir. 13, 18.
ضعف III *duplicavit,* Qor. 2, 263: ضِعْف 38, 61	= [צעף[7]]	= ܐܥܦܐ *double,* Isa. 40, 2.
* * *	= צִרְעָה *hornet*	= אוּרְעִיתָא Ex. 23, 28 Ps.-Jon. (ערעיתא Onq.).

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[1] The *roots*, not the particular word or form cited, are compared.

[2] Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.* p. 43.

[3] But צָרַר *to bind* = صَرَّ = Aram. צְרַר, one of the many examples of roots distinct in Arabic, but confused in Hebrew. See below, p. 230 f., as well as several of the following foot-notes.

[4] Unless I am mistaken, not found elsewhere in Aramaic, except (if the text be correct) as a *borrowed* word in the late Hebrew of Ps. 139 (*v.* 20). On 1 Sa. 28, 16 see the writer's note *ad loc.*

[5] Eth. ፀምር፡

[6] Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* (1881), p. 275 f.

[7] Whence צָעִיף Gen. 24, 65, properly, as Lagarde shews, some *square* garment. The adv. ܐܥܦܐܝܬ occurs 2 Cor. 1, 15.

(2) In 'Inlaut:'

رَضَا	= רָצָה	= ܪܥܐ.
وَضُأَ *nituit, emicuit*[1] / ወፀአ: *to go forth*	= יָצָא	= ܝܥܐ, יְעָא (of plants *springing forth*).
وَضَعَ *deposuit*	= יצע	= * * *
حِضْنٌ, ሕፀን: *bosom*	= חֹצֶן	= ܚܢܐ (for ܚܥܢܐ, ܚܢܐ)[2].

(3) In 'Auslaut:'

أَرْضٌ	= אֶרֶץ	= ܐܪܥܐ.
بَيْضَةٌ *ovum*	= בֵּיצָה	= ܒܝܥܬܐ.
حمض	= חָמֵץ	= ܚܡܥ, חֲמַע Ex. 12, 34. 39.
ربض	= רבץ	= ܪܒܥ Gen. 29, 2 Targ. and Pesh.[3]
رَضَّ	= רָצַץ	= ܪܥ Isa. 36, 6.
مَرِضَ *aeger fuit*	= מרץ[4]	= ܡܪܥ[5].
* * *	= מוץ, מִיץ	= ܡܥ *agitavit* (lac).
فَضَّ *divulsit*	= פצץ	= ܦܥ[5] (ܐܦܥ Isa. 59, 5 for בקעו).
قَبَضَ *prehensit*	= קָבַץ	= ܩܒܥ[5] *to fix.*

And with avoidance of the double guttural:—

عَرَضَ *contigit*	= * * *	= ܐܪܥ (Targ. עֲרַע).
عِضَةٌ[6]	= עֵץ	= אָע.
مَخَضَ *concussit*	= מָחַץ	= ܡܚܐ (for ܡܚܥ)[7].

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[1] Comp. צמח, in Syriac *splenduit* (ܨܡܚܐ = ἀπαύγασμα, Heb. 1, 3), but in Heb. and the Aramaic of the Targums, *germinavit.* See also Ges. *Thes.* p. 56ª.

[2] Cf. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 1878, p. 753.

[3] And, as a *borrowed* Aramaism, in the late Ps. 139 (*v.* 3). (The *Hebrew* verb רבע, Lev. 18, 23. 19, 19. 20, 16, unless it can be supposed to be a technical loan-word—cf. the *Af'el* in Aramaic (Gen. 36, 24 Ps.-Jon.)—must have a different origin.)

[4] Job 16, 3. 1 Ki. 2, 8. Mic. 2, 10.

[5] Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1878, p. 406.

[6] Nöldeke, l. c.

[7] מָחַץ and מָחָא (Isa. 55, 2. Ps. 98, 8 ימחאו כף; Ez. 25, 6 יען מחאך יד)

Instances, however, also occur of the series ض = ע = ג; as ضمد, צמד; غمض, נמץ; نفض, נפץ: and غنى[1] occurs by the side of נוף, سعد beside שחר, فى (Ps. 74, 14 for רצצת) beside שוף. Examples of the frequent ص = ע = ג need not be given.

Another series is ظ = ע = ץ: thus—

(1) ظَبْيٌ *dorcas*	= צְבִי, טַבְיָא 2 Sa. 1, 19	= צְבִי[2].
ظَهِيرَةٌ *noon-day*, Qor. 24, 57: cf. ظَاهِرٌ *conspicuus*, 34, 16	= צָהֳרַיִם, טְיְהָרָא	= צָהֳרַיִם.
* * *	= צוּף (צוּחַ) Dt. 11, 4)	= צוּף.
ظِلٌّ *shade*	= צֵל	= צֵל (צְלָלִים)[3].
ظَلِعَ	= טְלַע Gen. 32, 32 Onq. and Ps.-Jon.	= צָלַע *to halt.*
ظَلَمَ *to oppress*	= טְלַם, עֲלַם	= * * *[4]
ظَمِئٌ	= * * *	= צָמֵא.
ظَعَنَ *to break up, move quarters*, Qor. 16, 82	= צַע *sustulit*	= צָעַן Isa. 33, 20.

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will therefore be the same word, the former being the genuine Hebrew form, the latter of Aramaic origin; but passing into Hebrew by different channels, they acquired different significations, as in English *bench* and *bank*, *ditch* and *dyke*, *channel* and *canal*, etc. (see further illustrations in Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, second series, Lect. vi (ed. 1891, p. 335 ff.).

[1] Disputed by G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 1878, p. 762, on account of the meaning. See, however, Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 2996.

[2] But צבי *delight, ornament*, is from √צבה = صَبَا = *to be inclined towards.*

[3] טלל Neh. 3, 15 is an Aramaism: see 1 Ki. 6, 9. 7, 3 Pesh. And צלל *tinnivit* = صَلَّ.

[4] The Heb. צלם = Aram. צלמא is from √צלם = Arab. صَلَمَ *to cut off* or *out* (Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 733). صَنَمٌ *image* (compared in my former edition) appears to be a loan-word from the Aram. צלמא: see Sig. Fränkel, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 1886, p. 273.

ظُفْرٌ *nail*	= ܛܦܪܐ	= צִפֹּרֶן[1].
(2) عَظُمَ *to be strong,*	= * * *	= עָצֵם, עָצוּם[2].
عَظِيمٌ *mighty*, Qor. 2, 256		
عَظْمٌ *bone*	= ܥܛܡܐ *thigh*, Gen. 32, 32. Nu. 5, 21 al.	= עֶצֶם.
نَظَرَ *inspexit*	= נְטַר[3] *to keep, observe*	= נָצַר[4].
(3) حَفِظَ *be attentive to*	= ܚܦܝܛ *assiduous*	= חָפֵץ[5].
* * *	= ܪܗܛ	= רָץ.
وَعَظَ *monuit*	= יְעַט	= יָעַץ.
قَيْظٌ	= קַיִט Dan. 2, 35	= קַיִץ[6].

A third not less important series (passing by ز = ו = ז) is ذ = ז :—

(1) ذِيبٌ	= ܕܐܒܐ	= זְאֵב.

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[1] But צפור *bird* = ܨܦܪܐ, prob. from √صَفَرَ *to whistle* (said esp. of a bird). And צפירה *garland* (Isa. 28, 5) is from √ضَفَرَ *to plait* or *braid* (the corresponding word in Arabic ضَفِيرَةٌ signifies *a plait of hair*).

[2] But עצם *to close tight*, Isa. 29, 10. 33, 15 = عصم.

[3] נטר *to keep* (a vineyard), Cant. 1, 6. 8, 11 f., is most probably an idiom of North Palestine (cf. Del.), the dialect of which appears to have been slightly tinged by Aramaisms (comp. the writer's *Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.*, 1891, p. 421 f.): but נטר in the sense of *keeping anger* must be connected, it seems, with a different root, the more original and literal signification being preserved in the *derivative* מִטָּרָה (as in מִדְבָּר, אֲלֻמָּה, תִּקְוָה *cord*, צִיּוּן and other words). (نَاطُورٌ is confessedly—Fränkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 138—a loan-word from the Aramaic: is the case the same with the verb نَطَرَ *to keep a vineyard*, Saad. Isa. 1, 8?)

[4] But נֵצֶר *a shoot* is from √نَضَرَ *nituit, laete viruit.*

[5] Friedrich Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuchs zum A. T.* (1886), p. 168, endorsed by Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 1886, p. 742. חָפַץ in Job 40, 17 (יחפץ זנבו כמו ארז) *to stiffen* or *straighten down* is thus a distinct word (cf. p. 230 f.) = Arab. خَفَضَ *to depress, lower* (e.g. wings, Qor. 15, 88. 17, 25).

[6] But קֵץ *end*, in spite of the play in Amos 8, 2, is from קצץ = قَصَّ *to cut off.*

ذُبَابٌ	= ذُحُلا	= זְבוּב.
ذَبَحَ	= ذَحَسَ	= זָבַח.
ذُو, ذَاتٌ, ذَا	= ذِي, ذَا, ذَيْنِ	= זֹאת, זֶה, זֶה.
ذَهَبٌ	= ذَهَبُ	= זָהָב.
ذَابَ	= ذُبَ, ذوب Ps. 78, 20	= זָב.
ذَحْلٌ *rancour, malevolence*	= ذَحَلَ *to fear*	= זָחַל Job 32, 6[1].
ذَكَرَ	= ذَكَرَ	= זָכַר.
ذَكَرٌ	= ذَكَرُ	= זָכָר.
ذَنَبٌ	= ذَنَبُ, ذَنَبَا	= זָנָב.
ذَقَنٌ	= ذَقَنُ	= זָקָן.
ذَرَا	= ذَرَا, ذَرُو	= זָרָה.
ذِرَاعٌ	= ذِرَاعُ	= זְרוֹעַ[2].
(2) أُذُنٌ	= أُذُنٌ, אוּדְנָא	= אֹזֶן.
بَذَرَ	= بَذَرَ, حَبَّ	= בור.
كَذَبَ	= كَبَ	= כזב.
حَذَا *ex adverso*	= حَذَا, חַדְיָא	= חָזֶה[3] *breast.*

fuit: حِذَاءٌ res alteri opposita

* * * = نَزَا 2 Ki. 9, 33 Tg. = נָזָה *to spirt* (ib.)[4]
נְזַח Isa. 63, 3 Pesh.

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[1] But זחל *to creep* = زَحَلَ *to withdraw, lag behind* (Nöld. *l.c.* p. 741). (The words sometimes undergo slight modifications of meaning in the different languages.)

[2] But זרע *seed* = زرع.

[3] חוה *to see* is Aram. חזא.

[4] But נָזָה Isa. 52, 15, if the text be sound, can hardly mean anything except *cause to leap, startle* (Ges. Del. Dillm. R.V. *marg.*, etc.: cf. the writer's *Isaiah, his Life and Times*, p. 153), and will thus be a different word, from נוה = Arab. نَزَا *to leap*. Delitzsch, in his note on the passage, confuses the two roots, נָזָה = נרא = [נזא], and נזה = [נוא] = نزا. See more fully G. F. Moore, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* Boston, U.S.A., 1890, p. 216 ff.), whose objections, however (p. 221),

RESERVED BOOK

	وَذَعَ *to flow*	= דִּיעֲתָא *sweat*	= זֵעָה, יֶזַע.
(3)	أَخَذَ	= ܐܚܰܕ	= אָחַז.
	إِذْ, إِذَا	= אֱדַיִן Dan. 2, 15	= אֲזַי, אָז.
	عَاذَ Qor. 23, 99	= * * *	= עָז (עוֹז)[1] *to take refuge.*

A fourth series is ث = ܬ = שׁ, the original lisped dental becoming in Hebrew a simple sibilant :—

(1)	ثَبَرَ *to destroy*	= ܬܒܰܪ	= שָׁבַר *to break.*
	ثَدْىٌ *breast*	= ܬܕܳܐ	= שַׁד (for שַׁדְיְ).
	ثَابَ *to return*[2]	= תָּב	= שָׁב.
	ثَوْرٌ *bullock*	= תור, ܬܰܘܪܳܐ	= שׁוֹר.
	ثَكِلَ *be bereaved*	= תְּכוֹל	= שָׁכֹל.
	ثَلْجٌ *snow*	= תלגא	= שֶׁלֶג.
	ثَلَاثٌ *three*	= תְּלָת, ܬܠܰܬ	= שָׁלֹשׁ.
	ثَمَّ *there*	= ܬܰܡܳܢ	= שָׁם.
	ثَمَانٍ *eight*	= ܬܡܳܢܶܐ	= שְׁמֹנֶה[3].
	ثَنَى *to repeat*	= ܬܢܳܐ	= שָׁנָה 1 Sa. 26, 8[4].
	ثَقِفَ *to attain to, overcome, seize*	= ܬܩܰܦ *to be strong*	= * * *[5]

against the rendering 'startle' are hardly strong enough to authorize correction of the text: נצח Isa. 63, 3. 6, for instance (from √ نضح *to sprinkle*), cannot be the same word as the נצח which occurs elsewhere in the O. T.: and there are other similar ἅπαξ εἰρημένα in Hebrew (e.g. שחר *to charm*, Isa. 47, 11; חפץ Job 40, 17, above, p. 226).

[1] עזז *to be strong* = Arab. عَزَّ.

[2] But تَابَ *to be converted*, is a theological term, *borrowed* (as the ت shews) as a loan-word from the Aramaic: cf. Fränkel, *l.c.* p. 83; H. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Ḳorân* (1886), p. 39.

[3] שָׁמֵן *fat* = ܫܡܝܢ = سمن. [4] But שנה *year* = ܫܢܐ = سنة.

[5] The Hebrew equivalent, if it existed, would by law be שקף. It follows that תקף and its derivatives, where they occur in the Hebrew of the O. T. (Job 14, 20. 15, 24. Qoh. 4, 12. 6, 10. Esth. 9, 29. 10, 2. Dan. 11, 17), are not genuine Hebrew words, but borrowed from the Aramaic.

اِثْنَانِ *two*	= תְּרֵין, ܬܪܝܢ	= שְׁנַיִם.
ثُعَالَةٌ *fox*	= ܬܥܠܐ	= שׁוּעָל.
ثَعْلَبٌ *fox*	= * * *	= שעלבים.
ثَغْرٌ *gap, opening*	= תְּרַע *gate*	= שַׁעַר.
ثَقُلَ *to be weighty*	= תקל *to weigh*	= שקל.
ثَرَى *to be moist*	= תְּרָא Nu. 6, 3 Ps.-Jon.	= [שרה], whence מִשְׁרָה Nu. 6, 3[1].
(2) * * *	= עֲתַר, ܥܬܪ	= עשׁר *to be rich.*
وثب (dialect.)	= יתב	= ישׁב *to sit.*
مثل *to liken*	= ܡܬܠ	= משׁל.
أَثِمَ *to be guilty*	= * * * [2]	= אשׁם.
أُنْثَى *woman*	= ܐܢܬܬܐ, אִתְּתָא	= אִשָּׁה (for אִנְשָׁה)[3].
إِثْرٌ *footstep*	= אֲתַר *place*	= אֲשׁוּר.
(3) ? [4]	= בְּהֵת, ܒܗܬ	= בּוֹשׁ.
* * *	= בְּרוֹתָא, ܒܪܘܬܐ	= ברוש *cypress*[5].
جَدَثٌ *sepulchre* (Qor. 54, 7)	= * * *	= גדיש Job 21, 32[6].
حَدَّثَ *to renew*	= ܚܕܬ	= חִדֵּשׁ.

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[1] Cf. Pesh. ܬܪܝܢܐ (*ib.*). The word is not derived from שרה = Aram. שרא *to loosen:* see Fränkel, p. xii. (The statement in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. p. 205, based upon Gesenius, must be corrected accordingly.)

[2] The genuine Aramaic equivalent would be אתם. אשמא of the Targums is not therefore a true Aramaic word, but a loan-word from the Hebrew of the O. T.

[3] Not connected etymologically with אֱנוֹשׁ, אֲנָשִׁים = ܐܢܫܐ = أُنَاسٌ: the ܫ, س, in Aramaic and Arabic, as against the ܬ, ث, shew that the sibilant in אנוש is different in origin from that in אשׁה. It is even scarcely possible for אִישׁ (with its long vowel), however parallel in usage, to be akin etymologically with אִשָּׁה.

[4] Comp. Nöld. *ZDMG.* 1886, pp. 157, 741.

[5] ברותים Cant. 1, 17 (unless the ת be due to textual error) must be another of the Aramaizing forms found in this poem.

[6] Different from גדיש *sheaf*, and possibly to be read גֶּדֶשׁ.

حَرَثَ	= חָרַת, לָשַׁם (rare)	= חרשׁ *to cut in* (usu. *to plough*)[1].
وَرِثَ *to inherit*	= יָרִית	= ירשׁ.
لَيْثٌ *lion*	= לַיְתָא	= לִישׁ.
بُرْغُوثٌ *flea*	= פֻּרְעָנָא	= פרעשׁ[2].

Etymologies which offend against the established laws which a language follows, however plausible superficially they may appear to be, should always be viewed with suspicion[3]. 'Etymology,' to quote again Prof. Sayce's words[4], 'is not a plaything for the amusement of the ignorant and untrained: it is a serious and difficult study, not to be attempted without much preparation and previous research.' The etymologist who aspires to something better than reckless guessing, must both be thoroughly trained in the principles of scientific philology, and possess a sound practical acquaintance with the language (or languages) with which he deals.

Instances of roots, distinct in Arabic, but confused, either in themselves or in their derivatives, in Hebrew, have been referred to in some of the notes on the preceding pages: the following are additional examples of the same peculiarity:—(1) חבל *to bind* (whence חֶבֶל *cord*) = حَبَلَ, but חבל *to be corrupt* = خَبِلَ *to be unsound*: חטב *to gather fire-wood*[5] = حَطَبَ.

[1] But חרשׁ *to be dumb* = خَرِسَ.

[2] See further, on the subject of the preceding pages, Wright, *Lectures*, chap. iv; Frankel, *Beeinflussungen*, pp. xii–xiv; W. R. Smith, *Journ. of Phil.*, xvi. p. 74.

[3] Thus the proposed explanation of Βοσορ (2 Pet. 2, 15) as בצור, 'an Aramaic equivalent for the Hebrew בצור, the letters ע and צ being (as often) interchanged' (*Speaker's Comm.* i. p. 730), exactly inverts the relation actually subsisting between the two languages. And the explanation of שמואל as *Heard of God* contradicts one of the widest inductions of which the records of the Hebrew language are susceptible; comp. the writer's note on 1 Sa. 1, 20.

[4] *L.c.* p. 349.

[5] Not connected with חצב: cf. on the signification Wetzstein, *ap.* Delitzsch on Ps. 144, 12.

but חָטֵב *to have dark stripes* (Pr. 7, 16. Ps. 144, 12) = خَطِبَ *to be of a dusky colour;* חָלָב *milk* = حَلَبٌ, but חֵלֶב *fat* = خِلَبٌ; חָלָל *profane* (open to all, common), חָלִיל, חִלֵּל, הֵחֵל *to begin* (open), from √ حَلَّ *to loosen, be open* (licuit), but חָלָל *wounded,* חוֹלֵל *to pierce,* from √ خَلَّ *perforavit;* חמר *to be red* (whence חֲמוֹר *ass*) = أَحْمَرُ *red,* حِمَارٌ *ass,* but חמר *to ferment* = خَمَرَ, חֶמֶר (poet.) *wine* = خَمْرٌ; חנן *to shew pity* = حَنَّ, but Job 19, 17 (prob.) = خَنَّ (conj. x) *to be loathsome;* חפר *to dig* = حَفَرَ, but חפר *to be ashamed* = خَفِرَ *to be bashful;* החרים from حَرَمَ *to shut off, seclude,* but חָרוּם *slit-nosed,* from خَرَمَ *to cleave* (cf. أَخْرَمُ *slit-eared*). (2) עוה (Isa. 21, 3 al.) *to bend, twist* = عَوَى, but עוה *to go astray, act erringly* (2 Sa. 24, 17 al.), the root of עָוֹן *iniquity,* = غَوَى; עֲוִיל Job 16, 11 = עַוָּל (cf. Dillmann) *unrighteous,* from عَالَ *to decline,* especially *from right* (cf. עִוֵּל, עַוְלָה), but עֲוִיל *young child* (*ib.* 19, 28. 21, 11) from غَالَ *to give suck* (cf. עָלוֹת, עוּל); עטה *to grasp* (Isa. 22, 17) = عَطَا, but עטה *to cover* = غَطَا; התעלל *to occupy, amuse oneself* (see Fleischer *ap.* Delitzsch, on Isa. 3, 4, ed. 3), from √ عَلَّ, but עלל *to enter* (common in Aram.) = غَلَّ (hence עֹל *yoke* = غُلٌّ); עָפָר *dust* = عَفَرٌ, but עֹפֶר *fawn* = غُفْرٌ; עָרֵב *to be sweet, pleasing,* no doubt akin to عَرِبَ *alacer, lubens fuit,* but עֹרֵב *raven* = غُرَابٌ (cf. غَرِبَ *niger fuit*), עֶרֶב *evening,* from غَرَبَ *occidit* (sol), غَرْبٌ *place of sunset,* מערב *west* = مَغْرَبٌ; אֶצְבַּע *finger* = أَصْبَعٌ, but צבע *to dip, dye* (whence צֶבַע, צָבוּע) = ضَبَعَ. (3) חָצֵר *court,* from حَصَرَ *to enclose,* but חציר *grass,* from حَضِرَ *to be green;* צור, צוּרָה *form* = ܨܘܪܐ, ܨܘܪܬܐ, but צור *rock* = ܛܘܪܐ; צרח *to shout* = صَرَخَ, but צריח *underground chamber* = ضَرِيحٌ; רִצְפָּה *pavement,* רצוף (Cant. 3, 10) *fitted together* (in mosaic fashion), from √ رَصَفَ *to arrange side by side* (e.g. stones), but רֶצֶף, רִצְפָּה *heated stones* = رَضَفٌ (*id.*). (4) פרשׂ (Mic. 3, 3. Lam. 4, 4) *to cleave, divide, distribute* (strictly פרס, as Isa. 58, 7. Jer. 16, 7) =

فرس *to tear*[1], but פרשׂ *to spread out* = فرش; שׁבבים *splinters* (Hos. 8, 6), from √ سَبَّ *to cut*, but שׁביב *flame* (Job 18, 5), from √ شَبَّ *to blaze;* שׁרד *a style*, cf. سِرَادٌ a kind of *needle*, but שׂריד *fugitive*, from √ شَرَدَ *to escape.*

Obs. The same phenomenon is far from uncommon in other languages: thus *to blow* (of the wind) = Anglo-Saxon *blâwan;* (of a flower) = A. S. *blôwan: last* (verb) = A. S. *gelæstan; last* (adj.) = *latost; last* (burden) = *hlæst; last* (mould for making shoes) = *lâst: to lie* (repose) = *licgan;* (speak untruth) = *leôgan:* French *son* = both *suum* and *sonum: neuf* = both *novem* and *novum: louer* (to praise), from *laudare, louer* (to let), from *locare: νέω to spin* = Sanskrit *nah, νέω to swim* = Sk. *snu, νέομαι to come* = Sk. *nas.* See Max Müller's *Lectures*, second series, Lect. vi (ed. 1891, p. 358 ff.).

179. Although our immediate object is but a narrow one, being the illustration, not of the Hebrew language as a whole, but only of the verb (under certain aspects) by Arabic, yet in order to accomplish this satisfactorily, it will be desirable to make our way sure by defining more closely the relation in which these two languages stand towards each other. If Arabic were altogether a *younger* language than Hebrew, i.e. if it represented a more recent stratification, an ulterior stage beyond that at which Hebrew had arrived, it would be chimerical to expect it to throw much light upon the latter: we do not, as a rule, look to French or Italian to elucidate Latin, and we should not, in the case assumed, look to Arabic to elucidate Hebrew. If, however, notwithstanding the difference of date, Arabic exhibits particular formations in a more original condition than Hebrew, then such a course would be the natural one to adopt, and our expectations would not be disappointed. And this is, in fact, the case. Arabic is, in many respects, *an older language than Hebrew:* speaking roughly and without intending the analogy to be pressed in detail, we may say that Hebrew bears the

[1] See Nöldeke's interesting study on פרשׂ, פרס, and פְּרֵס Dan. 5, 25 in the *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, 1886, p. 414 ff.

same sort of relation to Arabic that English does to German. Consider in what manner German often lights up an obscure corner in English: I do not, of course, mean to imply that it presents us with the constituent factors of our own language in their ultimate and original form, but it reduces our irregularities to rule, it exhibits what with us is fragmentary, residuary, or imperfect, as parts of a complete and systematic whole. Various rare or antiquated forms, provincialisms, the peculiarities connected with the use of the auxiliaries, may be taken as examples. What is the meaning of *worth* in the line, 'Woe worth the day, woe worth the hour?' It is plain that it cannot be used in its ordinary acceptation as a substantive or an adjective: but our own language offers us nothing with which it can be connected or identified. In English the word is, in fact, the only survivor of a once numerous family: separated from its kindred, its meaning, and even what part of speech it is, has become totally forgotten. But in German the whole family still exists in the shape of a verb, complete in all its parts, and forming an integral element in the language. Thus the irregularity ceases to be irregular: the fragment at once falls into its proper place, as a part in a living whole, and as such reassumes the signification which had well-nigh been irrecoverably lost[1]. And, similarly, it is often possible in Arabic to trace the entire stratification of which Hebrew has preserved nothing more than a few remains scattered here and there, which, *taken by themselves*, can never be adequately explained.

180. The assertion, however, that Arabic is an older language than Hebrew will excite, probably, the reader's surprise. It will appear to him, in the literal sense of the word, preposterous, thus to invert the natural order of things: he will deem it incredible that such an ancient language

[1] Earle, *Philology of the English Tongue*, § 283.

should be younger and less primitive than one which does not enter the field of history for more than 1500 years after a period at which the former is known from authentic records to have flourished. And yet such an opinion is not so incredible or improbable as it may at first sight appear. If, for instance, as competent and independent authorities affirm, there are parts of Arabia in which the language of the Qor'an may be heard in unaltered purity at the present day, if, therefore, the Arabic language has remained unchanged during the last 1200 years, may it not have continued in the same manner comparatively unchanged during an indefinite period previously? Were not the tranquil and secluded habits of the Arab tribes (whose motto might well have been the words להם לבדם נתנה הארץ ולא עבר זר בתוכם) eminently calculated to preserve the integrity of their language, while the migratory and unsettled life of the early Hebrews, to say nothing of their depression and subjugation in a foreign land, the effects of which cannot but have been strongly impressed upon their language, would tend in just the opposite direction? May not Hebrew then, so to speak, be a language which is *prematurely old*, while Arabic, under the influence of favourable external conditions, retained till a much later date the vigour and luxuriance of its youth?

Obs. It may also be recollected that there are other instances in which, of two languages belonging to the same family, the one which historically is known only as the later, may nevertheless contain many elements more primitive than any to be found in the other. For example, compare Latin with Greek. Greek appears as a fully developed language long before the date of the earliest records written in Latin (inscriptions of about 250 B.C.): yet comparative philology teaches us that Latin is in more respects than one an *older* language than Greek—it retains the older forms, which in Greek have gradually given way, and receded from sight. Thus the digamma (*F*), which the metre proves to have existed at the time when the Homeric poems were composed, before long vanished from the language: in Latin the corresponding sound (*v*) was retained to the end (*vinum, vicus, video*, etc.). Similarly, where in Greek we have only the aspirate, Latin retains the earlier

sibilant: cf. ἕ, ἕξ, ἕπτα, ὅλος, ἵστημι with *se*, *sex*, *septem*, *salvus*, *sisto*. Numerous instances may also be found in the case- and person-endings. In Greek σ was regularly dropped between two vowels, in Latin it was retained, at least under another form: accordingly in gene*r*is, musa*r*um, we hear the representative of the σ which had already disappeared even in the oldest Greek forms, γένεος (for *γενε-σ-ος) and μουσάων. Passing to the verb, we have here *s*um by the side of εἰμὶ (for *ἐσμί, Sk. *ásmi*), e*s* by the side of εἶ (i.e. *ἐσί, cf. ἐσσί, Sk. *ási*), e*r*am by the side of ἦν, in Homer ἔην (i.e. *ἔσην), *s*iem (for es-iem) by the side of εἴην (i.e. *ἐσίην): in *legit* the *t* is preserved which has vanished from λέγει (for *λέγετι), though it re-appears in λέγεται, and in verbs in -μι takes the form of σ: *legimus* and *legunt*, like the dialectic λέγομες, λέγοντι, are older than λέγομεν, λέγουσι (for λέγονσι, i.e. λέγοντι), and *legentem*, like *matrem* and *decem*, is older than λέγοντα, μητέρα, and δέκα (Sk. *mātáram*, *daśan*). These examples, shewing as they do that numerous forms still existed in Latin centuries after they had been lost or materially modified in Greek, form an interesting parallel to some of the instances cited above from Arabic as compared with Hebrew.

181. But we are not confined to probable reasoning: the presence of the older form in Arabic admits frequently of direct demonstration. Let us take two or three of the more obvious cases. In Hebrew the consonant following the article is regularly doubled: we may indeed surmise from analogy that the duplication conceals some letter which once formed part of the article; but what that letter may have been, the Hebrew language itself does not afford the materials even for a plausible conjecture. In Arabic the hidden letter is obvious. There the article is *'al*, in which the *l* is *never* assimilated in writing with the following consonant, and not in pronunciation except when the latter is a sibilant, dental, or liquid. Thus *'almalku*=הַמֶּלֶךְ: *'ashshamsu*=הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ. Now it is inconceivable that *'almalku* can have arisen out of *hammélekh* by disintegration: Hebrew itself tells us that מִן־צפון, מתדבר, נתנת are posterior to מִצָּפוֹן, מְדַבֵּר, נָתַתָּ: it is accordingly evident that Arabic has preserved the older unassimilated form which in Hebrew regularly suffered assimilation. Exactly the same relation between the two languages

is observable in *'anta, 'antum* by the side of אַתָּה, אַתֶּם. Again in ָה several originally distinct terminations have become merged: this can be shewn inferentially from Hebrew itself, but in Arabic these terminations are still distinguishable. In all feminine nouns such as מְדִינָה, the *h* represents an original *th*, dropped in ordinary pronunciation, but reappearing[1] in *st. constr.* and before a suffix מְדִינַת, מְדִינָתִי[2]: in Arabic the *t* is written regularly, *medînatun*, city (where *n* is the so-called 'nunation,' and *u* marks the nominative case). Similarly בָּתְבָה was once *katabath*, as we see from the form assumed before a suffix גְּנָבָתַם (cf. also the sporadic forms אָזְלַת, עָשָׂת, הִרְצָת, etc.): accordingly in Arabic we have regularly, as 3 *fem.*, *katabat*. In verbs ל״ה, the ה stands for an older י or ו, which must indeed be presupposed for such forms as גָּלוּי,

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[1] So in French the *t* of *habet*, *amat*, lost in *il a*, *il aime*, becomes audible again in *a-t-il? aime-t-il?* Ἔδειξα is in Sk. *adiksham*, and the liquid with which the Greek word must once have terminated is seen in the middle ἐδειξά-μ-ην.

[2] Retained in Phoenician, all but uniformly (Schröder, *Phön. Gramm.* p. 170), and likewise in Moabitish (see *Notes on Samuel*, p. lxxxvi ff.). In Hebrew, also, it is preserved in certain proper names (some doubtless of Canaanitish origin), as בשמַת Gen. 26, 34. 1 Ki. 4, 15; מחלַת Gen. 28, 9. 2 Chr. 11, 18; אֲחֻזַּת Gen. 26, 26; בכורַת 1 Sa. 9, 1; also גָּלְיַת and גנובַת: more often in names of places, as אילַת Dt. 2, 8; בצקַת Josh. 15, 39; גבעַת 18, 28; דברַת 19, 12. 21, 28; צרפַת 1 Ki. 17, 9: further, with a long vowel, שמעָת 2 Ki. 12, 22; שמרָת 1 Chr. 8, 21; מכמתָת Josh. 16, 6; לבנָת 19, 26; בעלָת 19, 44; אפרָת Gen. 48, 7; עַיָּת Isa. 10, 28; חֲמָת often. Add also the rare poetical forms נחלָת Ps. 16, 6; עזרָת 60, 13 = 108, 13; שְׁנָת 132, 4 (see Del. ed. 3 or 4); and the archaic זמרָת Ex. 15, 2 'my strength *and a song* is Yah,'—the supposition that י of the suffix may have dropped out is rendered improbable by the recurrence of exactly the same form Isa. 12, 2. Ps. 118, 14: at the same time it is *possible* (Böttcher, i. p. 241) that the older language, dispensing with superfluous letters, intended the י of the next word to do double duty, so that the whole would read וְזִמְרָתִיָּהּ. The suggestion that the names ending in ָת are apocopated from ָתָה (Hupf.) is not necessary, or supported by analogy. Cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 80. 2, rem. 2[a, b].

חָסְיָה, יִרְבְּיוּן, אֹתָיו, and the derivatives רָאִי, נְקִיוֹן: in Arabic the weak consonant is often visible to the eye (though quiescent when the vowel immediately preceding it is *a*), as رَأًى *ra'a*ʸ = ראה, أَتَى *'ata*ʸ = אתה, نَقِيَ *naqiya* = נקה.

At the commencement of a word Hebrew evinces a strong dislike to the presence of ו, a letter for which Arabic has almost as marked a preference: thus for ילד, ישע, ירש, we find *walada, wasi'a, waritha;* in which of the two languages now has the change taken place? Hebrew itself will answer this question. By the side of יָלַד we find הוֹלִיד, נוֹלַד, יְוֻלַּד (cf. הִתְוַדַּע), where it is impossible to account for the ו except by supposing it to have been the original letter which in ילד was modified into י owing to a peculiarity of Hebrew pronunciation: the opposite assumption cannot be made, because no assignable reason exists for an original י to be changed into ו so soon as it ceases to begin a word. More than this, the Arabic *'awlada* shews us the uncontracted form of הוֹלִיד: as in *'aw, qawlun, maw'idun* (مَوْعِدٌ), for אוֹ, קוֹל, מוֹעֵד etc., the waw retains its consonantal value, and *aw* (which is obviously the earlier form) has not yet become *ô*.

182. Having thus by a variety of instances, all pointing in the same direction, established our right to treat Arabic forms as more primitive than the corresponding forms in Hebrew, we may go further, and adopt the same opinion, without hesitation, in cases which might seem inconclusive if considered by themselves, but which, in the light of those instances, will not admit of explanation by any different hypothesis. It is a characteristic of languages which occupy towards one another the relation here shewn to subsist between Arabic and Hebrew, that isolated or sporadic forms in the one correspond to forms of regular occurrence in the other. Now for אַתְּ, לָךְ, קָטַלְתְּ, we find occasionally a K'tib לכי, קטלתי (2 Kings 4, 2. 7. 16. 23. Ruth 3, 3. 4 al.), and in Arabic this *yod* is the regular mark of the 2nd *fem. sing.*,

as *'anti*, *laki* (Qor. 3, 32), *qatalti:* accordingly it is plain that *i* was the original vowel (cf. also תקטלי), which in Hebrew, gradually becoming inaudible, was ultimately omitted in writing, except in the cases alluded to, and before a suffix where like the *th*, § 181, it naturally reappears (קְטַלְתִּינִי)[1]. In the same way, there can be hardly any doubt that the rare terminations ו—, ִי—, וֹ—, sometimes affixed to words in *st. constr.* (Olshausen, §§ 107, 123; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 90. 2, 3)[2], are relics of ancient case-endings—petrified survivals[3], meaningless in Hebrew, full of meaning in Arabic and in the primitive language from which Arabic and Hebrew are both equally sprung. The case is similar with ָה—, which, with names of places, was still felt to retain a definite import (expressing *motion towards*), but in לַ֫יְלָה regularly (cf. ἡ νύχθα in modern Greek), חַ֫רְסָה Jud. 14, 18 (which cannot be simply *feminines*, if only on account of the tone) is a perpetuation of the old accusative-ending *-an*, though with loss of its particular sig-

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[1] In Syriac the *yod* is written, but not pronounced: ܐܰܢܝܬܝ, ܠܶܟܝ, ܩܛܰܠܬܝ. Syriac likewise sides with Arabic in some of the other points enumerated: cf. ܐܰܢܝܬ, ܐܰܢܝܬܽܘܢ, ܩܛܰܠܬ (3 *fem.*), ܐܰܘܠܶܕ, ܡܰܘܗܰܒܬܳܐ, ܢܶܩܛܠܽܘܢ. In the Aram. ܗܘܳܐ, הֲוָא (= Heb. היה), we see the older ו, which is also retained in the name יהוה.

[2] The ו— of the nomin. is found, not only in compound proper names, as פנואל *face of God*, שמואל *name of God*, רעואל etc., מתושאל *man of God* (ש being the relative pron. = Assyr. *sha*), מתושלח, but also most probably (if the reading be correct) in בֹּכְרוּ 1 Chr. 8, 38 = 9, 44, in מליכו Neh. 12, 14 Qrê, and certainly in גשמו, the 'Arabian,' Neh. 6, 6: in illustration of this *foreign* name, may be cited the numerous Nabataean proper names (Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, 1885, pp. 73, 90–92), ending regularly in ו (e.g. גלחמו, הגרו, מלכו, מקימו, והבו, כהילו, etc.). See also Philippi, *St. Constr.* p. 132; Blau, *Zur Althebräischen Sprachkunde*, in Merx' *Archiv*, i. (1870), p. 352.—Ewald's explanation of the forms referred to, *Lb.* § 211ᵃ, is not probable: it is criticized at length by Philippi, *l.c.* p. 104 ff.

[3] Most of the infinitive forms, in Greek and Latin, are the petrified cases of abstract nouns—whether locatives or datives: Sayce, *Introd.* i. 430, ii. 144; Curtius, *The Greek Verb*, p. 344 (Engl. Tr.).

nification[1]. And this leads us to the subject which immediately concerns us. Exactly as בַּיְתָה corresponds to بَيْتًا *baytan*, so אֶקְטְלָה corresponds to the Arabic 'energetic' أَقْتُلَنْ (also أَقْتُلَنَّ) *'aqtulan* (also *'aqtulanna*).

Obs. On ה ָ it may further be remarked that it clings likewise to a few geographical names, Dt. 10, 7 Gudgódah, and in the fem. Num. 33, 22 f. Keheláthah; 33 f. Yotbáthah; Josh. 19, 43 and Jud. 14, 1. 5 Timnáthah; Mic. 5, 1 Ephráthah. It is to be recognized also in the poetical by-forms (in all of which the tone is similar) אֵיכָתָה Ex. 15, 16; יְשׁוּעָתָה Ps. 3, 3. 80, 3. Jon. 2, 10; סוּפָתָה Hos. 8, 7; עֻוָּלָתָה 10, 13 (also Ez. 28, 15. Ps. 125, 3; עַלָּתָה Ps. 92, 16. Job 5, 16); עֻזָּתָה Ps. 44, 27. 63, 8. 94, 17. The view that these are 'double feminines' is an extraordinary one, and is rightly abandoned in Ges.-Kautzsch, § 90, 2, rem.[a, b]; they agree precisely in form with עַזָּתָה *to Gaza*, הַגִּבְעָתָה *to Gibeah*, and the only question is whether they are actual archaisms

[1] This will not surprise us any more than the manner in which, after the declensions, as such, were given up in the Romance languages, the noun still continued to be designated by a form derived not from the Latin nominative, but from the *accusative:* thus in French we have *rien*, *raison*, *murs*, *maux*, from *rem*, *rationem*, *muros*, *malos;* *le*, *les*, *mon*, *mes*, from *illum*, *illos*, *meum*, *meos*, etc. Respecting this selection of the accusative, see further Brachet's *Historical French Grammar* (Kitchin's translation), pp. 88–96, where it is likewise shewn how, in isolated instances, as in *fils*, the nominative was preserved: in French, then, by a strange reversal of what might have been anticipated, the nominative was the exceptional form; in Hebrew, on the other hand, this peculiarity fell to the share of the accusative as well. 'In modern Arabic the oblique form of the plural (*-în*) has everywhere superseded the direct form (*ûn*),' Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i. § 347, rem. *b:* cf. Philippi, *St. Constr.* p. 143 ff.

In classical Arabic the noun is declined as follows :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	*kâtibun* = (כֹּתֵב)	*kâtibâni*	*kâtibûna.*
G. D.	*kâtibin*	*kâtibaini*	*kâtibîna.*
A.	*kâtiban*		

The coincidence of the Hebrew dual and plural with the *oblique* cases in Arabic is remarkable, and cannot be purely accidental.

which held their place in the language, or whether they are *affected* archaisms framed at will by particular poets. For those at any rate which are isolated (as עִיָּתָה Job 10, 22[1]) or are met with only in later writers (צָרָתָה Ps. 120, 1; and the masc. הַמָּוְתָה 116, 15; נַחְלָה *torrent* 124, 4), the latter alternative is decidedly the more probable: the use of י—, Ps. 113, 5–9. 114, 8. 123, 1 (see Delitzsch, Introd. to Ps. 113; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 90. 3[a]), shews to what an extent the later poets loved these quaint forms. But the termination may here and there have been employed with its proper force, as in Ps. 80, 3 לכה לישׁוּעָתָה; 44, 27 קומה עֶזְרָתָה לנו (cf. 38, 23 חושה לעזרתי), and perhaps also 63, 8. 94, 17.

183. To the reader who is unacquainted with Arabic, the force of this comparison will be rendered more palpable if it be explained that in that language the imperfect tense possesses four distinct modal forms, each marked by its own termination, viz. the indicative, the subjunctive, the jussive, and the energetic. Thus from *qatala* (= קָטַל) we get—

	Indic.	Subj.	Jussive.	Energetic.
1 sing.	*'aqtulu*	*'aqtula*	*'aqtul*	*'aqtulan* (or *-anna*).
3 pl. masc.	*yaqtulûna*	*yaqtulû*	*yaqtulû*	*yaqtulun* (or *-unna*).

In *yaqtulûna* the source of the *n* in יִקְטְלוּן immediately discloses itself: like modern Arabic, Hebrew, as a rule, discarded the final syllable *-na;* it was not, however, disused altogether, but kept its place as a fuller and more significant form, adapted to round a period, or give to a word some slight additional force[2]. With the subjunctive we are not here further concerned: but the two remaining moods have

[1] But המוֹתָה Jer. 11, 15 is corrupt (see R.V. *marg.*, or *QPB*[3]): read with LXX המומה הַנְּדָרִים for המומתה הרבים (with יעברו מעליך רעתך).

[2] Particulars respecting its occurrence may be found in Böttcher, § 930: the instances are also collected *in extenso* by König, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, ii. (Berlin, 1839) [a comparison of the style and language of Dt. with that of Jerem.], p. 165 ff. See more briefly the author's *Notes on Samuel*, on 1 Sa. 2, 15.

both left in Hebrew indelible marks of their presence, in a manner which declares that they must once have been more uniformly and extensively recognizable than is now the case: marks which it is the more important to observe, since, *as the usage of the language shews*, they still retained a distinctive meaning. As regards the jussive, nothing need be added to what has been already said (§§ 44, 151 *Obs.*). With respect to the energetic, which, like the jussive, is used indiscriminately with *all* the persons, a reference to the examples given below, p. 245, will shew that its use is by no means limited to the expression of a strongly-felt purpose or desire, but that it is employed much more widely, to convey, for instance, an emphatic command, or to add a general emphasis to the assertion of a future fact—it being a matter of indifference whether this fact is *desired* by the speaker or not: and the reader will not unnaturally wonder why, when its signification is so broad and comprehensive in Arabic, any difficulty should be felt in conceding a similar scope to the Hebrew cohortative. *A priori*, to be sure, the cohortative, so far as can be seen, might have been employed with the same range of meaning as the energetic: it is only actual examination which, fixing narrower limits for the vast majority of passages in which it occurs, forbids us to exceed them for the two or three isolated occasions upon which its predominant sense seems out of place.

Obs. In many—perhaps most—of the cases where Arabic makes use of the energetic, Hebrew would, in fact, avail itself of a totally different construction, viz. the *infinitive absolute* prefixed to the verb—a construction which imparts similar emphasis to the sentiment expressed, and of which it is almost impossible not to be spontaneously reminded, as one contemplates the Arabic energetic. Not only do the two idioms agree in other respects, but, singularly enough, the infinitive absolute is frequently found after אם (e.g. Ex. 15, 26. 21, 5. 22, 3. 11 f. 22. Lev. 7, 18. 13, 7. 27, 10. 13), precisely as the energetic occurs after لَمْ. Will it, then, be thought too bold to conjecture that the wider and more general functions which this form continued to exercise in Arabic, were

in Hebrew superseded by the rise of a new idiom, of genuine native growth, which gradually absorbed all except one? that in this way the termination *-an* or *-anna*, from having been once capable of a more varied application, came ultimately to be definitely restricted to the single function with which we are familiar? Both idioms subserving upon the whole the same objects, after the inf. abs. had established itself in the language, they would speedily come into collision; it would be felt, however, that the two were not needed together, and by a division of labour the language would gain in both definiteness and force.

184. The opinion that Hebrew exhibits in germ the grammatical forms which appear in a more developed form in Arabic, cannot be sustained; and though it has had its advocates[1], is now deservedly abandoned by scholars. It need only be added that in adopting the view, which has been accepted and exemplified in the preceding pages, there are, of course, two errors to be guarded against: one, that of imagining Hebrew to be *derived from* Arabic; the other, that of concluding *everything* exhibited by the classical Arabic to have originated in primitive Semitic times. The true state of the case is rather this: Hebrew and Arabic, with the other Semitic languages, are the *collateral* descendants of the old Semitic stock, among which Arabic appears upon the whole to have preserved the greatest resemblance to the parent tongue: but this by no means excludes the possibility, and, indeed, the probability, of Arabic itself, after its separation from the other languages, developing particular forms and constructions peculiar to itself alone.

Obs. So Nöldeke, the highest living authority on the philology of the Semitic languages, writes (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 9, art. 'Semitic languages,' p. 641 f.):—'But just as it is now recognized with ever-increasing clearness that Sanskrit is far from having retained in such a degree as was even lately supposed the characteristics of primitive Indo-

[1] Comp., for instance, Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, pp. 424, 425 (ed. 1863), or the *Dict. of the Bible* (ed. 1), art. 'Shemitic languages and writing,' § 32 (1863).

European speech, so in the domain of the Semitic tongues we can assign to Arabic only a relative antiquity. It is true that in Arabic very many features are preserved more faithfully than in the cognate languages,—for instance, nearly all the original abundance of consonants, the short vowels in open syllables, particularly in the interior of words, and many grammatical distinctions, which in the other languages are more or less obscured. But on the other hand, Arabic has coined, simply from analogy, a great number of forms, which, owing to their extreme simplicity, seem at the first glance to be primitive, but which, nevertheless, are only modifications of the primitive forms; whilst perhaps the other Semitic languages exhibit modifications of a different kind.' And (p. 646) 'with regard to grammatical forms, Hebrew has lost much that is still preserved in Arabic[1]: but the greater richness of Arabic is in part the result of later development[2].'

185. Turning now from structure to function, we may collect a few illustrations of the more noticeable significations that are borne by the two tenses.

§ 13. See Wright, ii. 1°, and cf. Qor. 3, 75. 108. 6, 31. 7, 69.

§ 14. Ewald, *Gramm. Arab.* ii. p. 347: 'Usus perfecti de re futurâ in Korano latius patet, videturque mihi vestigia quaedam hebraei perfecti cum ו relativo servare.' The use alluded to is, I believe, confined to those descriptions of the 'Hour' of resurrection, or the future life, with which the Qor'an abounds; and though at times the perfect appears in the neighbourhood of other perfects without *waw*

[1] It is noteworthy that, as Gesenius long ago remarked (Pref. to his *Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, 1817, p. vii), the modern *popular* Arabic often agrees with Hebrew against the classical or *literary* Arabic, many grammatical forms existing in the written language having in the popular language dropped out of use, precisely as happened in Hebrew: for some illustrations of this, see Wright, *Arabic Gramm.* i. §§ 90 *end*, 185 rem. *e*, 308 *end* (as well as different passages in his *Compar. Grammar*); Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des St. Constr.*, 1871, p. 145 ff.

[2] See further, on the same subject, Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des St. Constr.* passim, especially pp. 124, 142–151, with Nöldeke's review of it in the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, June, 1871, p. 881. Nöldeke gives it as his opinion that the presence of vowel-terminations in old Semitic, as germs of the Arabic cases, is very probable: he only demurs to the supposition that as yet they had definitely begun to fulfil the functions of the three cases as such.

(e.g. 6, 22–31. 7, 35–49), yet it is so much more frequently found surrounded by *imperfects* (in a future sense) as to make it difficult to avoid accepting Ewald's conclusion. The list given by Ewald by no means exhausts the instances which might be found: two or three examples will, however, be sufficient for our present purpose. 11, 11. 100 he (Pharaoh) will head his people on the day of resurrection *fa'awradahum* (as though והורידם), *and lead them down* into the fire. 14, 24–28 *and they will* come forth to God altogether, *and he will* say etc. 25, 27 and one day will the heavens be cleft *and* the angels *be sent down* descending. 44, 54–56. 50, 19–30. 78, 19 f.

§ 17. Qor. 7, 87. 11, 35 إِنْ شَآءَ si *voluerit*. 45. 83 as for thy (Loṭ's) wife, on her shall light what *will have lighted* on them. 109 abiding in it as long as the heavens and earth *shall have lasted*, except thy Lord *shall have willed* otherwise. 42, 43; after حَتَّى *until*, 6, 31.

§ 19. Cf. Qor. 3, 138. 159. 7, 149. 10, 52.

§ 27. Various instances of the *inceptive* force of the imperfect:— 3, 42 he only saith to a thing, Be, فَيَكُونُ *and it is;* so 52. 19, 36 (cf. Ps. 33, 9). 7, 98. 11, 40 وَيَصْنَعُ and he *went on* to build the ark. 18, 40 وَيَقُولُ. 20, 41. 58, 9; after إِذْ (=אז), 3, 120 إِذْ تَقُولُ *then* thou *wentest on* to say; after ثُمَّ (cf. שם), 3, 22. 40, 69. 58, 9, cf. 11, 77. 21, 12. Also 7, 114. 26, 44 and Moses cast down his rod, فَإِذَا هِيَ تَلْقَفُ and behold IT *began devouring* their inventions. 11, 44 وَهِيَ تَجْرِي and IT *began to* move.

3, 39 when they *were casting* lots. 145. 147 when ye *were coming* up the height. 21, 78 when they *were giving* judgment. 40, 10.

The inceptive force of the tense is also conspicuously displayed when it follows a verb in the past for the purpose of indicating the intention or object with which the action was performed; as 3, 117. 6, 25 when they come to thee *to dispute* with thee. 7, 72. 10, 3 then ascended his throne *yudabbiru* to rule all things. 42, 9; cf. 3, 158. 34, 43 al., and Wright, ii. § 8d. With יום אולד בו, cf. 19, 15 *yawma yamûtu* (= יום ימות) the day he would die on.

§ 34. Wright, ii. § 8e; Qor. 7, 84 and sit not in every road *menacing and misleading* (both indic.). 11, 80. Compare also Steinthal, *Characteristik*, p. 267.

§§ 44–46. On the energetic, see Wright, ii. § 19. Unlike the Hebrew cohortative, it is used freely in *all* the persons; the nature of its intensifying influence will be clear from the examples:—Qor. 3, 75 surely (لَ) *ye shall* believe in him! 194 *la'ukaffiranna* (= כַּפֵּר אֲכַפְּרָה) surely I will forgive you your evil deeds! 6, 12 he *will* surely gather

you together for the day of resurrection. 14 *do not be* of the 'associators' [i.e. the Christians]! 35, 80 *do not be* one of the ignorant! 77 surely, if my Lord doth not guide me, surely *I shall be* of the people that err! 7, 5 surely *we will ask!* 121 surely *I will* crucify you! And after إِمَّا *if at all, whether:* 6, 67 and *if* Saṭan *cause thee to forget* (= ואם יַנְשֶׁה, יְנַשֶּׁךָּ הַשָּׂטָן), etc. 19, 26 (= אם ראה תראי); 7, 33. 199. 10, 47 (cf. 40, 77) *whether* we *let thee see* some of the things with which we threaten them, or (أَوْ) *take thee* to ourselves, to us is their return. 43, 40 f.

§§ 122–129. The use of the Arabic ف *fa*, as illustrating the employment of ו to introduce the apodosis or the predicate, was already appealed to by the mediaeval Jewish grammarians and commentators (e.g. by Ibn Ezra, frequently[1]). Examples may readily be found: thus with ורעו *know then*, Ps. 4, 4, compare Qor. 3, 14 O our Lord! we have indeed believed, *so* forgive us our sins! 44 I come to you with a sign from your Lord; *so* fear God and obey me: behold God is my Lord and your Lord; *therefore* serve him! 89 God is truthful; follow, *then* etc.

With the instances in §§ 123, 127, compare (*α*) 3, 49. 50 as to those who believe, *them* (فَـ) he will pay their reward. 26, 75–77.

(*β*) 6, 72 in the day that he saith, Be, *then* it is! 16, 87 and when they shall have seen the punishment, *then* it will not be lightened off them. 26, 80. 43, 50. 50, 39 in the night, *then* praise him! (in Hebrew, with of course the perfect, וּבַלַּיְלָה וְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ.)

(*γ*) 3, 118 (14, 14 f.) upon God, *there* (فـ) let the believer trust! 10, 59 in the grace of God and in his mercy, *why*, in this, *this* let them rejoice! 16, 53 فَإِيَّايَ فَارْهَبُونِ *so* me, *me* revere! 42, 14; constantly after من *whoso*, as 3, 70 whoever has been true to his engagement, and fears God, *why* (فـ), surely God loveth those that fear him. 76. 88. 45, 14 whoever does right, *falinafsihi* (ولنفسه) *'tis* for his own soul; after *whatever*, 42, 8. 34; in the apod. after *if*, 40, 22; after *whether* . . . *or* . . ., 10, 47. 40, 77.

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[1] See his Comm. on Gen. 22, 4. Ex. 9, 21. Lev. 7, 16. Is. 48, 7. Zech. 14, 17 (§ 124), etc. Comp. W. Bacher, *Abraham Ibn Esra als Grammatiker*, Strassburg, 1882, p. 138 f.

APPENDIX IV.

On the Principle of Apposition in Hebrew.

Note. The following pages, which lay no claim to independent research, are based on the two papers of Professor Fleischer, 'Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arabischen,' in the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Kön. Sächs. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 1856, pp. 1–14; 1862, pp. 10–66 (reprinted in his *Kleinere Schriften*, ii. 1, 1888, pp. 1–74); and on those parts of Philippi's monograph on the Status Constructus (Weimar, 1871) in which the same subject is treated with more immediate reference to Hebrew. The object of Fleischer's first paper was to correct certain mis-statements in the Grammars of De Sacy and Ewald: it provoked (as might have been anticipated) a characteristic reply from the last-named scholar in the *GGAN.* 1857, pp. 97–112: and the second paper accordingly defends *in extenso*, with a profusion of illustrative examples, the principles laid down more briefly in the first. The dispute between the two great grammarians turned, however, not so much upon the facts (though doubtless these were not duly estimated, and in part also overlooked by Ewald) as upon the relative priority, in the class of instances under discussion, of the *st. constr.* and apposition, Ewald contending in favour of the former, and regarding apposition as a breaking up of the older and stricter union of words, and the last resource of a decaying tongue, while Fleischer maintained that, where idioms defining the relations between words with precision and smoothness, are found side by side with simpler and rougher constructions in which those relations are only noted in their broader outline, presumption is in favour of the priority of the latter. The *principle* of apposition, however, is not confined even to late Hebrew, so that Fleischer's position seems to be more in accordance with analogy, and is accepted without hesitation by Philippi (p. 90 f.).—It is convenient sometimes to use the term *Annexion* (= إِضَافَةٌ) to denote the *st. constr.* relation.

The main principles here explained were also, it is worth adding, recognized long ago in their bearing on Hebrew syntax by the late Professor Lee, of Cambridge: see his *Hebr. Gr.* (1832), §§ 219. 1–3, 220.

186. Apposition, in the widest sense of the term, is the combination of the two parts of a 'simple judgment' into a complex idea[1]. Every apposition, therefore, presupposes the possibility of a correlative predication, and any peculiarity in the nature of the one will but reflect a corresponding peculiarity in the nature of the other. For example, such expressions as 'man born of a woman,' Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων, imply, and may be derived from, the propositions 'man is born of a woman,' Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ βαπτίζων. Of course instances like these, which merely view a single subject under two aspects, are not the peculiar property of any language: but the Semitic languages extend the principle much beyond what would be in harmony with our mode of thinking; they bring two terms into parallel juxtaposition in order to form a *single conception*, in cases where we should introduce a preposition, or substitute an adjective, as the more precise 'exponent' of the relation subsisting between them. The principal cases fall under two heads, which may be considered in order.

In Arabic, the material of which an object is composed is often not conceived under the form of an attribute or quality belonging to it (a *golden* crown): it is regarded as the *genus* or class to which the object is to be referred, and which is specified by being appended to the object named, as its closer definition (*the crown, the gold;* or *a crown, gold*). In this example, the *crown* is the principal idea, to which *gold* stands in *explanatory apposition*[2]*:* the crown is first indicated generally, and its nature is then more closely described by

[1] *Berichte*, 1862, p. 12.

[2] In the technical language of the grammarians it forms a بيان: see Dr. Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, ii. § 94, p. 248 (ed. 2, 1875). But two other constructions are likewise admissible: *a crown of* (من) *gold*, and *a crown of gold* (the *st. constr.*).

the mention of the class to which it belongs, the understanding combining the two ideas thus thrown down side by side into the logical unit which we express by the words *the* (or *a*) *golden crown*. Let this be distinguished from the other form of apposition, *a pound, gold;* here the first word marks a weight, measure, or number, and the second is described as the *Permutative*[1] of the first; and here, moreover, the measure, apart from the thing measured, being but an impalpable magnitude, it is the second, not the first word which is the principal idea.

187. The form which the predicate assumes is determined similarly. Terms expressing *distinctly* its relation to the subject, such as *consists of*, *contains*, *extends over*, *measures*, *weighs*, etc., are avoided: an article *is* the material of which it is composed, the whole *is* its parts, the genus *is* its species, the thing weighed *is* the weight, etc. Or, to pass to concrete instances (selected out of a large number collected by Fleischer from Arabic authors), 'their garments *are* silk' (Qor. 35, 30) 'each house *is* [not, *is of*] five stories,' 'Memphis *was* aqueducts and dams,' 'potash *is* many kinds,' 'the crocodile *is* ten cubits,' 'the waters of the Nile in such and such a year *were* (= rose) five cubits,' 'the pilgrimage *is* (= lasts) some months' (Qor. 2, 193): in all these instances the predicate is in the *nominative*, and it follows that a simple relation of *Identity* must be affirmed between it and the subject. The idiom admits of imitation in English, more or less close, and sometimes quite naturally: Mecca was at that time *all* saltwort and thorns, the field was one mass of bloom, 'the poop was beaten gold, ... the oars were silver:' still, in Arabic at any rate, it must have been in too constant use to imply quite the emphasis which its rarity gives it in our own language, or which is made still plainer by the addition of 'all.'

[1] بدل: so called because the idea of the empty measure is *exchanged*, as the sentence advances, for that of the thing measured (*ibid.* § 94 rem. *b*; § 139 rem. *b*).

188. By aid of these principles, a multitude of constructions occurring in the O. T. receive at once a natural and sufficient explanation: the harshness and abruptness, as it seems to us, may not indeed be removed, but this is now seen to constitute no difficulty to the Semitic mode of thought. From our point of view, the simplest test of a legitimate apposition will be (§ 186) its capability of being transposed into a proposition in which a relation of identity between subj. and pred. can be conceived; and in fact all the examples, it may be observed, will bear this transposition. Now (1) just as Arabic says اَلصَّنَمُ اَلذَّهَبُ *the image, the gold*, so in Hebrew we have Ex. 39, 17 הָעֲבֹתֹת הַזָּהָב; 2 Ki. 16, 17 הַבָּקָר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת: these are both cases of apposition, 'the cords, the gold' = *the golden cords;* 'the oxen, the brass' = *the brazen oxen:* not only is there no necessity to postulate an ellipse, 'the cords (even the cords) of gold[1],' but Arabic usage altogether prohibits it[2]. Further examples: 1 Sa. 2, 13 the fork, the three prongs = *the three-pronged fork.* Zech. 4, 10 האבן הבדיל the plumb-stone; further, Gen. 6, 17. 7, 6[3]. Nu. 7, 13. Jer. 52, 20. 1 Chr. 15, 19 מְצִלְתַּיִם נְחֹשֶׁת; and somewhat more freely, to denote, not the actual substance of which an object consists, but a physical or material characteristic displayed by it, Jer. 31, 40 וכל־העמק הפגרים והדשן all the valley, the corpses and the ashes[4]. Ez. 22, 18 סיגים כסף היו they are become *silver-dross* (the first word in English qualifying the second, so that the order is reversed). Ex. 22, 30 בשר בשדה

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[1] As is done e.g. by Kalisch, § 87, 10. Ewald, § 290[e], less probably, regards these as cases of dissolution of the *st. constr.*, brought about by the article prefixed to the first word.

[2] Fleischer shews that annexion is not here allowable.

[3] Unless (as has been supposed) מים in these two passages be a gloss, explanatory of מבול.

[4] As predicate, 'the valley was corpses and ashes,' like 'Memphis was aqueducts.' With §§ 188–192 comp. generally Wright, § 136[a]; Ew. § 287[h].

טרפה flesh in the field, that which is torn = *torn flesh* (cf. Jer. 41, 8). 24, 5 and 1 Sa. 11, 15 זְבָחִים שְׁלָמִים (elsewhere זבחי שלמים). Dt. 3, 5. 16, 21 אשרה כל עץ = an Ashérah (of) any wood. Isa. 3, 24 מעשֶׂה מקשה. Ez. 43, 21 אֶת־הַפַּר הַחַטָּאת the bullock, the sin-offering (usually פַּר־החטאת). Ps. 68, 17 mountains, peaks[1] = *peaked mountains*. Cant. 8, 2 אַשְׁקְךָ מִיַּיִן הָרֶקַח I will give thee to drink of wine, spiced mixture[1] = *spiced wine*[2].

(2) To these correspond, in the predicative form, Ex. 9, 31 השערה אביב והפשתה גבעל the barley *was ears*, and the flax *was bloom*. Jer. 24, 2 one basket *was* good figs etc.[3] Ez. 41, 22 הַמִּזְבֵּחַ עֵץ. Gen. 1, 2 the earth *was* an emptiness and waste. 14, 10 the vale *was* pits[4], pits of slime. Isa. 5, 12 and their feast *is* harp and lute etc. 30, 33 מְדוּרָתָהּ אֵשׁ ועצים. 65, 4 ופרק פִּגֻּלִים כליהם. Ps. 23, 5 כּוֹסִי רְוָיָה my cup *is an overflowing*. 45, 9 all thy garments *are* myrrh. Ezra 10, 13 והעת גשמים the season *was* showers. Jer. 2, 28 thy gods *are* the number of thy cities[5].

189. It is but an extension of this usage (though, as it would seem, more liberally employed in Hebrew than in Arabic[6]) when terms denoting other than material attributes are treated similarly. Thus (1) Josh. 16, 9 הֶעָרִים הַמְּבֻדָּלוֹת the cities, the separations = the separate cities[7]. Ps. 120, 3

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[1] Embracing in a complex idea the subj. and pred. of the propositions, 'the mountains *were* peaks,' 'the wine *was* spiced mixture.'

[2] Lee (§ 219) explains similarly Ez. 34, 20 *lit.* sheep, fatness. But no doubt בְּרִיאָה (cf. *v.* 3), or at least בְּרִיָּה (Olsh. p. 327), should be restored.

[3] Cf. 'all the district was figs, vines, and olives' (*Ber.* 1862, p. 34).

[4] The first בארות a *suspended st. constr.*, like Ps. 78, 9: Ew. § 289[c].

[5] Cf. 'their woes are the number of the sand' (*Ber.* 1862, p. 39).

[6] On '*adlun*, and some other words originally substantives (comp. in Hebrew מיצט, which is only in the later language, Ps. 109, 8. Eccl. 5, 1, treated as an adj., and declined), see *Berichte*, 1856, p. 5; Wright, ii. § 94 rem. *b*.

[7] But possibly הַמַּבְדָּלוֹת (pt. Hof.) should here be read: cf. the verb (Hif.) in Dt. 4, 41. 19, 2. 7.

לָשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה O tongue, deceitfulness! 1 Ki. 22, 27 and Isa. 30, 20 לַחַץ מַיִם water, affliction (i.e. water given in such scant measure, as itself to betoken affliction). Zech. 1, 13 words, consolations = *consoling words*. Ex. 30, 23 בְּשָׂמִים רֹאשׁ = *choice* spices. Pr. 22, 21b אֱמֶת אֲמָרִים. Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה wine, staggering (the staggering being conceived as conveyed by the wine) = wine of staggering. Jer. 25, 15 הַיַּיִן הַחֵמָה.

(2) Gen. 11, 1 the whole earth was שפה אחת. Ex. 17, 12 ויהי ידיו אמונה and his hands were *firmness* (= were firm). Isa. 19, 11 (perhaps) עֵצָה. 27, 10 the city is בָּדָד *solitariness*. 30, 7 רַהַב הֵם שָׁבֶת Rahab (Egypt), they are *utter indolence* (lit. *a sitting still*). Jer. 48, 38 כֵּלָה מַסְפֵּד. Ez. 2, 8 אל־תְּהִי־מֶרִי be not *rebelliousness*[1]. 16, 7 וְעֶרְיָה וָעֵרֹם. Ps. 19, 10 משפטי יהוה אֱמֶת. 25, 10. 35, 6. 55, 22 his heart is *war*. 88, 19 מְיֻדָּעַי מַחְשָׁךְ (if the rendering of Hitz. and R.V. *marg.* be right). 89, 48 (M. T.) זכר אני מֶה־חָלֶד = remember *quantilli sim aevi*. 92, 9 ואתה מרום and thou art *loftiness* (cf. 10, 5 משפטיך מרום). 109, 4 (an extreme case) אֲנִי תְפִלָּה[2]. 110, 3 thy people is נְדָבוֹת (*all*) *freewillingness*. 120, 7 אני שלום[3]. Pr. 8, 30 ואהיה שעשעים and I was (*all*) *delight*. Job 8, 9 for we are *yesterday* (2 Sa. 15, 20 כי תמול בואך). 22, 12 is not God *the height of heaven*? 23, 2 גם היום מָרִי שִׂיחִי (unless מַר should be here read: cf. 7, 11). 26, 13 ברוחו שמים שִׁפְרָה by his breath the heavens are *brightness*. Dan. 9, 23[2] כִּי חֲמוּדוֹת אַתָּה. Qoh. 2, 23.

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[1] A passage which shews that in itself כי מרי המה Ez. 2, 7 is quite a legitimate construction: still LXX, Targ. Pesh. and 21 MSS. have here בית מרי, which is in agreement with Ez.'s general usage (e.g. 2, 5. 6. 3, 9. 26. 27), and is probably correct. (So 44, 6 read with LXX, Targ. Corn. ואמרת אל בית המרי.)

[2] Where to supply איש (Kimchi, *Michlol*, 51a ed. Lyck, 1862, and others) is unnecessary and wrong.

[3] So elsewhere with this word, as 1 Sa. 25, 6 ואתה שלום וביתך שלום. 2 Sa. 17, 3 כל־האנש יהיה שלום. Pr. 3, 17 כל־נתיבותיה שלום. Job 5, 24 וידעת כי שלום אהלך (comp. Del., who shews why שלום cannot be an 'adverbial accus.:' also Ewald, § 296b *end*). 21, 9 בתיהם שלום; and elsewhere.

Obs. Other cases of an abstract word used as predicate: Gen. 49, 4 (implicitly). 1 Sa. 22, 23 מִשְׁמֶרֶת; 21, 6. Isa. 23, 18 and frequently לְקֹדֶשׁ[1]; Ez. 27, 36 בַּלָּהוֹת הָיִית thou art become *terrors*, which throws light on 26, 21 בלהות אהנך, and 16, 38 ונתתיך דם חמה וקנאה (after a verb of *making*): cf. the phrases עשה פ׳ כלה *to make* any one *an utter end*, i.e. to exterminate him; *to make* any one (all) *neck*, or *shoulder* (Ex. 23, 27. Ps. 21, 13), i.e. to make them shew only their backs in flight.

190. The same tendency to express a compound idea by two terms standing in apposition may be traced in other cases, not of the same distinctive character as those which have been already discussed. It is doubtless, for instance, the explanation of those constructions in which analogy would lead us to expect the *st. constr.*, but in which we find in fact the *st. abs.*—with or without the article. Thus, in expressions indicating locality, Nu. 21, 14 אֶת־הַנְּחָלִים אַרְנֹן (see Dillmann). 34, 2 הארץ כנען. 1 Sa. 4, 1 הָאֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר the stone Help (5, 1. 7, 12, however, the *st. constr.* אבן העזר is used). 1 Ki. 16, 24 הָהָר שֹׁמְרוֹן (but הַר ציון, הַר גרזים etc.). 1 Chr. 5, 9 הַנָּהָר פְּרָת (usually נְהַר פְּרָת). Further, 2 Sa. 10, 7 הַצָּבָא הַגִּבֹּרִים the host, (even) the mighty men. 1 Ki. 16, 21 העם ישראל (so Josh. 8, 33. Ezra 9, 1). 2 Ki. 7, 13 Kt. הֲהָמוֹן ישראל (Qrê הֲמוֹן ישראל, omitting the art., as just below, in the same verse). Jer. 8, 5 העם הזה ירושלם[2]. La. 2, 13 הַבַּת ירושלם O daughter, Jerusalem[3]. 2 Chr. 13, 3 בְּחַיִל גבורי מלחמה. 14, 8. Ezra 2, 62 their book, the registered (perhaps the *title* of the record). Neh. 7, 5. Dan. 8, 13.

Obs. So the infin. after היום, Ex. 9, 18. 2 Sa. 19, 25; cf. 2 Chr. 8, 16. But it is too bold to extend this principle to Isa. 22, 17 הנה יהוה מטלטלך

[1] Comp. in proper names יוֹכֶבֶד Yah is *honour*, יוֹעֵזֶר Yah is *help*, יְהוֹשׁוּעַ Yah is *opulence*, which are different from the *verbal* types יְהוֹשָׁפָט, יִשְׁמָעֵאל, etc.

[2] Where, however, LXX do not recognize ירושלם: probably rightly.

[3] Unless this be one of the anomalous cases of the art. in *st. constr.* (Ewald, § 290[d]; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 127 rem. 4). Elsewhere, even as a vocative, there occurs regularly בת ירושלם, בת ציון, etc.

טלטלה גבר (as was done formerly by Delitzsch): גבר must either be a voc. (Hitz. Ew. Cheyne, Dillm. R.V. *marg.*), or belongs to § 161. 3 (Ges. Del. ed. 4[1], R.V.). It is difficult also to follow Philippi (p. 86) in referring here Josh. 3, 14 הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית. 8, 11 הָעָם הַמִּלְחָמָה: in the former passage, the original text had probably only הארון, הברית being added by a subsequent editor or redactor (cf. 1 Sa. 4, 3-5 LXX and Heb., with the author's note); in the latter, there may have stood originally either simply העם (as *v.* 10: so Dillm.), or עַם־המלחמה (as *vv.* 1. 3. 10, 7. 11, 7), העם having been written in error by a scribe, who did not see what was to follow, through the influence of *v.* 10 (twice).

Philippi would account similarly for בְּכָתֵף פלשתים Isa. 11, 14; but here it can hardly be doubted that Nöldeke is right (*GGA.* 1871, p. 896) in regarding the punctuation בְּכָתֵף as embodying *a particular interpretation*, that, namely, which is already found in the Targ. (כְּתָף חָד) and is followed by Rashi, according to which בְּכָתֵף is taken, not in connexion with פלשתים, but, like שכם אחד, Zeph. 3, 9, and ܚܕ ܟܬܦܐ in Syriac, as a metaphorical expression = 'with one consent.' The same interpretation is also given of שכמה, Hos. 6, 9 (Tg. Rashi, Kimchi, A. V.); but there, no less than here, the absence of the crucial אֶחָד seems decisive against it. If, however, we abandon this interpretation, and connect כתף with פלשתים, we must abandon also the punctuation which embodies it, and read the usual *st. constr.* form בְּכֶ֫תֶף. A similar instance is afforded by 5, 30: here the old interpretation of צַר וָאוֹר וג׳, still traceable in the characteristic paraphrase of the Targ., is 'moon and sun are darkened' etc., and this is represented both by the accentuation and the *qameṣ* under ו, coupling together צר ואור: but if that interpretation be given up, both the accents and the punctuation must be modified likewise. So 2, 20 לחפר פרות the punctuation is meant probably to express the sense *to dig holes* (cf. Kimchi): *to the moles* must be read לַחֲפַרְפָּרוֹת. See further 43, 28 (p. 70 *n.*), and the passages cited from the same book in § 174: also Ps. 10, 8. 10 (where the *points* express the sense, 'thy host,' and 'the host of the grieved ones'). Qoh. 3, 21 (the pronouns היא, which would be altogether out of place, if העולה and היורדת had the *art.*, but which are required—see Nu. 13, 18-20—if the ה be the interrogative, shew that the punctuation is incorrect, and that the rendering of R.V. must be adopted: see

[1] Where, however, the reference to מים ברכים and 30, 20 seems to be no longer in place, illustrating, as it does, the now discarded explanation of ed. 3.

Delitzsch or Wright). 5, 17 (the *revi'a*, with accompanying pausal form, at אני, expresses a false interpunction: see Del.).

Other apparent instances, also, deviate too widely from the normal usage of the language to be due to anything but textual corruption: so Josh. 13, 5 הארץ הגבלי (cf. Dillmann). 1 Sa. 1, 1 הרמתים צופים (where the text, if only on account of the *masc.* ptcp., cannot be correct: read, after LXX, צוּפִי *a Zuphite*—cf. 9, 5—for צופים, and see more fully the writer's note *ad loc.*). 2 Sa. 20, 23 כל הצבא ישראל (read simply כל הצבא: see 8, 16). Ez. 45, 16 כל העם הארץ (omit הארץ with LXX, Cornill). And in 2 Sa. 24, 5 הנחל הגד is not to be rendered, with R.V., 'the valley of Gad:' the text of the first part of the verse must be emended, with Wellh. and Lucian's recension of the LXX, to ויחלו מערוער ומן העיר וג׳: the whole will then read: 'And they began from Aroer and from the city that is in the midst of the torrent-valley (same expression as Dt. 2, 36. Josh. 13, 9. 16), *towards Gad*' etc. In Jer. 32, 12 also it is doubtful whether הספר המקנה can be rightly explained as 'the deed, the purchase'=the purchase-deed: *vv.* 11. 14 we find the normal ספר המקנה, and in *v.* 12 for ואתן את הספר המקנה LXX have simply *καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτὸ* (comp. Stade in the *ZATW.* 1885, pp. 175–8). Jud. 8, 32 עָפְרָה אבי העזרי must no doubt be corrected to עָפְרַת אבי העזרי, exactly as 6, 24: observe that *ἐν Ἐφραθα Ἀβιεσδρι* of the LXX presupposes a final ת. אָבֵל in the compounds אָבֵל כרמים, אָבֵל מצרים, אָבֵל מחולה, אָבֵל בית מעכה, אָבֵל השטים, seems (if the punctuation be correct) to have retained anomalously the longer vowel in the *st. constr.*[1]: the same may have been the case in עָזֵה קריתים Gen. 14, 5 (cf. עָזָה alone *v.* 17). בְּאֵרֹת in בְּאֵרֹת בני יעקן Dt. 10, 6 may be the *st. constr.*: see Gen. 26, 18.

191. A *double* determination by both a following genitive and a prefixed article is as a rule eschewed in Hebrew; though it is met with occasionally (Ewald, § 290[d]: Ges.-Kautzsch, § 127 rem. 4), particularly in the later language. The following passages, however, in which, it will be noticed, the *st. constr.* is dependent not on the consonants but only on the vowel-points, are otherwise in such com-

[1] The *nature* of the second term in these instances is opposed to Philippi's view that they may be cases of apposition: the French 'Maison Orléans' etc., which he compares, are derived from a different family of languages, and cannot be regarded as really parallel.

plete analogy with some of those just cited, that it is difficult not to believe that the punctuation is in error, and that the *st. abs.* should be restored: 2 Ki. 16, 14 where המזבח הנחשת would be in conformity with הַבָּקָר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת, *v.* 17 (§ 188. 1); Ex. 39, 27 read הַכְּתֹנֶת שֵׁשׁ (§ 193 or § 195).

Obs. 1. But Jud. 16, 14 הַיְחַד הָאֶרֶג the corruption is probably deeper: comp. G. F. Moore in the *American Oriental Society's Proceedings*, Oct. 1889, p. clxxvi ff. (who cancels היהר as a gloss): and Jer. 25, 26 כל־הַמַּמְלָכוֹת הארץ אשר על פני האדמה we must evidently read כל־ הַמַּמְלָכוֹת (without הארץ), with LXX; notice the tautology of the existing text.

Obs. 2. 2 Ki. 23, 17 the last words belong to ויקרא, not to עשית; and if המזבח be read, they run quite naturally 'against the altar *in* Bethel;' cf. 1 Ki. 13, 4: the preposition is, of course, not necessary with a *compound* proper name, for the purpose of expressing locality: see e.g. 2 Sa. 2, 32 אשר בית לחם which was *in* Bethlehem (but בְּחברוי), 2 Ki. 10, 29 בית־אל *at* Bethel (but בְּדָן)[1]. So Gen. 31, 13 אנכי האל ביתאל may be understood as 'I am the God *at* Bethel,'—i.e. the God who appeared to thee at Bethel. In accordance with the same principle Nu. 22, 5 הַנָּהָר ארץ בני־עמו is naturally 'the river *in* the land of' etc.: comp. 2 Sa. 17, 26 ארץ הגלעד ... ויחן. In Ez. 47, 15 הדרך חתלן, חתלן might possibly be an accus. of direction after הדרך; but the occurrence in 48, 1 of the normal דרך חתלן makes it probable, in view of the notoriously incorrect state of the text of Ezekiel, that דרך חתלן should be read likewise here. Elsewhere it must remain uncertain whether we have anomalous cases of the art. with the *st. constr.*, or whether the art. is due to corruption of the text: so, for instance, Jer. 38, 6 הבור מלכיהו בן־המלך. Ez. 46, 19 לשכות הקדש (see the usual form in 42, 13). 2 Ki. 16, 17[a]. For המלך אשור Isa. 36, 8. 16 the parallel text 2 Ki. 18, 23. 31 has correctly מלך אשור; and for הגפן שׂבמה Jer. 48, 32 there is found in the fundamental passage Isa. 16, 9 the regular גפן שׂבמה (the explanation as *accus. loci*, suggested by

[1] Similarly בית יי *in* the house of Yahweh, 2 Ki. 11, 3. 15 and constantly, בית־אביך Gen. 24, 23, פתח האהל *at* the entrance of the tent, Gen. 18, 1. 10 etc., but בְּביתי, בְּביתו, etc. The note in the *Speaker's Comm.* ii. p. 545 is doubly wrong. But we do not find שלה, שמרון, etc., unless a verb of *motion* has preceded (as 1 Sa. 1, 25): cf. the writer's note on 1 Sa. 2, 29.

Philippi, p. 38 f., would be very harsh, and not in accordance with usage). On some other passages, see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 127 rem. 4.

192. The same principle regulates the use of terms specifying weight, number, or measure :—

(1) Ex. 27, 16 מָסָךְ עשרים אמה a veil, *twenty cubits*. 29, 40. 30, 24 שֶׁ֫מֶן זַ֫יִת הִין olive oil, a hin. Nu. 15, 4–7. 2 Sa. 24, 24 כסף שקלים חמשים. 1 Chr. 22, 14 זָהָב. 2 Chr. 4, 2 a line, thirty in cubits. Ez. 40, 5. 47, 4 מַ֫יִם בִּרְכַּ֫יִם[1] *waters, knees*, in our idiom, waters reaching to the knees. Similar are Nu. 9, 20 יָמִים מִסְפָּר[2]. Neh. 2, 12 אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט. Isa. 10, 7 גוים לא מעט. Gen. 41, 1. 2 Sa. 13, 23 al. שְׁנָתַ֫יִם יָמִים two years, time. Dan. 10, 2 שלשה שָׁבֻעִים ימים. 3[3]: Jud. 19, 2 ימים ארבעה חדשים (where the order is reversed). Here, however, in Hebrew the *st. constr.* may be used, which is not permissible in Arabic[4]: 1 Ki. 7, 10 אבני עשר אמות stones of 10 cubits. Dt. 4, 27 מְתֵי מִסְפָּר.

(2) As predicate: Ez. 45, 11 the bath and the ephah *shall be* one size[5]. 2 Chr. 3, 4 the porch *was* 20 cubits. 11. Gen. 47, 9 מעט. Dt. 33, 6 וִיהִי מְתָיו מִסְפָּר and let his men be *a number!* (i.e. numerable, few). Isa. 10, 19 מספר יהיו.

193. There are two cases, however, which though they may at first sight appear similar to these, are in fact different: (I) when the first member of the pair is definite, the second indefinite; (II) where the measure, or weight, *precedes* the thing measured or weighed.

I. Let us take as an example 1 Chr. 28, 18 הַכְּרוּבִים זָהָב.

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[1] Cf. 'he is from me the length (Nom.) of a spear' (*Ber.* 1862, p. 51).

[2] Cf. Qor. 18, 10 سِنِينَ عَدَدًا years, a number [here, *numerous* years] (*ib.* p. 39). So in Syriac ܝܘܡܬܐ ܩܠܝܠ, ܥܡܐ ܣܘܓܐܐ.

[3] Hence, no doubt, חדש ימים, ירח ימים, though regarded in itself ימים might be a genitive, are to be explained similarly.

[4] 'A cord *of* a cubit' cannot be said in Arabic: only 'a cord, a cubit' (*ib.* p. 31: see the illustrations, pp. 39, 50 f.).

[5] Cf. 'an image, the size (Nom.) of a man' (*ib.* p. 57).

This must not be rendered 'the cherubim of gold;' זהב is an accus. of limitation, defining more precisely the nature of the cherubim (called technically *temyiz*), just as in Arabic خَاتَمٌ حَدِيدًا (or اَلْخَاتَمُ), a (*or* the) ring *as regards* or *in* iron[1]. Examples of this idiom from Ex. 25 ff. are doubtful, as the words there are mostly under the government of a preceding עשה, or similar word; but it must be recognized in some passages which, though apparently simple, have in fact caused much perplexity to grammarians, viz. Ps. 71, 7 מַחְסִי עֹז; 2 Sa. 22, 33 מָעוּזִּי חָיִל; Hab. 3, 8; Ez. 16, 27 דַּרְכֵּךְ זִמָּה; Lev. 6, 3 מִדּוֹ בַד, where the first word is defined by a pronominal suffix. In the first place, though Hebrew alone would not enable us to affirm it, these cannot be rendered (as some commentators have supposed) as if they involved a *double* annexion,—'my refuge *of* strength' etc. It is a general rule, writes Fleischer[2], in all the Semitic languages, that when a word is in the *st. constr.* with a following genitive, 'its capacity to govern as a noun (seine nominale Rectionskraft) is thereby so exhausted that under no conditions can it govern a *second* genitive in a different direction.' Accordingly, 'my iron shield' in Arabic can never be expressed by 'my shield of iron' (gen.), but only either in apposition 'my shield, the iron,' or, with the defining accus., 'my shield, in iron:' an example translated literally into Greek, runs *ἔνεγκε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν θώρακά μου τὴν σίδηρον*. It follows that עז, זמה, etc. must be regarded as either in apposition, or as accusatives: the circumstance that they are all indeterminate (not מחסי העז) is in favour of the latter supposition,—my refuge *as to* or *for* strength, thy way *for* or *in* wickedness[3].

Obs. Lev. 26, 42 בריתי יעקב and Jer. 33, 20 בריתי היום are probably similar: 'my covenant—Jacob,' 'my covenant—the day,' בריתי being

[1] Philippi, p. 39; Wright, ii. p. 136. Comp. Dan. 11, 8 (Bevan).

[2] *Berichte*, 1856, p. 10; cf. Philippi, p. 14.

[3] So also Lee (§ 220. 3), citing in addition Lam. 4, 17.

determined *obliquely*, so to say, by the adjuncts יעקב and היום respectively: Ewald indeed (§ 211[b]) compares מלאתי משפט etc.; but the personal pron. seems desiderated. Delitzsch, in his note on 2 Sa. 22 (at the end of Ps. 18, p. 203, ed. 4), adopting Nägelsbach's remark that in certain cases the type מַחְסִי עֹזִּי for the usual מַחֲסֶה עֻזִּי must have been a logical necessity, suggests that this transposition of the pron. suffix to the *nomen regens* may have been adopted thence into the *syntaxis ornata;* but have we any evidence that those cases were sufficiently numerous to give rise to the *tendency* to transpose which this explanation presupposes? Was not what to us appears to be a logical necessity avoided in Hebrew by an innate difference both of conception and expression?

In אֹיְבַי שָׁקֶר Ps. 35, 19. 69, 5; שִׂנְאַי שָׁקֶר 38, 20, שקר is unquestionably an adverbial accus. *in falsehood* = falsely: cf. 119, 86. Ez. 13, 22, and the frequent בַּגְּדִי *greedily*, ظُلْمًا *oppressively*, in the Qor'an. The view that it may be a genitive, expressed in the earlier editions of Delitzsch's commentary, is in his two last (1873 and 1883) entirely abandoned. The ptcp. with a suffix is followed by other adjuncts of an adverbial nature, 17, 9 בנפשׁ; 35, 19[b] חנם.

194. II. This case exemplifies the second type of apposition, referred to in § 186, 'a pound, gold,' in which, the first term denoting merely the unfilled measure, the term which follows it is the one of primary import. Here, however, though Arabic very often makes use of apposition, it does not do so exclusively: the article measured may be specified by being placed in the accus. (a pound *as to* or *in* gold)[1]; and here also annexion (which was not allowable in a former case, § 192) may take the place of apposition, in Arabic no less than in Hebrew. But, as Hebrew does not mark the case-endings, where the *st. constr.* is not employed, it must remain uncertain whether the object measured was conceived in apposition, or as an accus. of limitation: there are analogies which perhaps favour the latter[2].

[1] Wright, ii. §§ 44[c], rem. *c*, p. 136; 94, rem. *b*: Lee, § 219. 1 *note*.

[2] Examples of the acc. of respect are numerous, Ewald, 281[c], 283[a]: Job 15, 10 כביר מאביך ימים. Ez. 45, 14 הבת השמן (though these two words agree badly with the context, and are probably a gloss: cf. Smend, Cornill) is, however, a clear case of apposition.

Instances are very frequent: Gen. 18, 6 שָׁלֹשׁ סְאִים קֶמַח 3 seáhs, meal (or, *in* meal). Ex. 9, 8 מְלֹא חָפְנֵיכֶם פִּיחַ כִּבְשָׁן. 16, 32 מְלֹא הָעֹמֶר מָן (so Nu. 22, 18 מְלֹא ביתו כסף[1]). 28, 17 עֶשְׂרֹן סֹלֶת a tenth (of an ephah), fine meal. 29, 40 עשירית האיפה קמח. Nu. 5, 15 ארבעים טורים אבן (39, 10 טורי אבן). Ruth 2, 17 איפה שערים an ephah, barley. 1 Ki. 18, 32 סָאתַיִם זָרַע. 2 Ki. 3, 4 100,000 אֵילִים עֶמֶר 100,000 rams, wool (i.e. their fleeces). 5, 17 מַשָּׂא עֶמֶד פְּרָדִים אַדְמָה. 23 בִּכּוּרִים בֶּסֶף; and often after שקלים, etc., and (שקל being omitted) עֶשְׂרִים בֶּסֶף. Cf. 2 Sa. 24, 13 שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים רָעָב. A similar usage prevails in the case of מִשְׁנֶה, Gen. 43, 15 משנה כסף. Dt. 15, 18 (but some edd. read here משנה). Jer. 17, 18 ומשנה שִׁבָּרוֹן שָׁבְרֵם.

The construction of *numerals* falls under the same general principles: שלשה, חמשה, etc. are substantives and construed as such: שלשה בנים *lit.* a triad, sons (apposition), and so עשרים שקלים 20 *shekels;* but עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה 20 *in* years (accus.[2], שנה being indeterminate).

Obs. The principles of Semitic syntax thus established have a bearing on the much controverted passage Ps. 45, 7 כִּסְאֲךָ אֱלֹהִים עוֹלָם וָעֶד. In addition to the ordinary rendering, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,' three others have been proposed: (1) 'Thy throne is God for ever and ever,' (2) 'Thy throne of God (or, Thy God's throne, i. e. Thy divinely established throne) is' etc. (Ges. *Jes.* i. p. 365). (3) 'Thy throne is God's throne (cf. 1 Chr. 29, 23) for ever and ever' (Ibn Ezra; Kimchi, *Michlol*, 51[a]; Ges. *Thes.*; Ewald; Hitz.). The first of these, being felt to include an unsuitable comparison, has found few supporters in modern times[3]: and Gesenius' supposition, implied in (2),

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[1] An exact parallel is afforded by Qor. 3, 85 there shall not be accepted from one of them مِلْءُ ٱلْأَرْضِ ذَهَبًا (מלא הארץ זהב=) *the fulness of the earth, gold*, where another reading is the *accus.* ذَهَبًا '*in* gold.' On the Syriac usage, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* (1880), § 214.

[2] So always in Arabic for numerals between 11–99 (Wright, § 99): cf. Philippi, p. 89, and see Aug. Müller, *Schulgramm.* § 468 f.

[3] See against it, most recently, Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures* 1889, p. 182.

that כסא is followed by two genitives in different relations, is exactly what is declared by Fleischer (cited § 193) to be inadmissible. But even (3) does not appear to be more tenable: the predicate, in the parallel instances (§ 188), is conceived always *in the nominative, not in the genitive;* so that the insertion of 'throne of' is plainly unauthorized. Can, however, 'Thy throne is God' be understood, on the analogy of the examples in § 189, to mean 'Thy throne is divine' (rather, perhaps, 'godly,' Mal. 2, 15)? All these examples, it was shewn, presuppose a relation of *identity* between the subject and the attribute predicated of it; and though it may be convenient to translate in English by an adjective, this translation is justified, not by having recourse to an ellipse, but by *the tacit assumption of that relation.* The ideas of *God* and *throne*, however, are so dissimilar, that it does not seem possible to class this passage in the same category. It is indeed urged by Hitzig that while עולם occurs frequently enough as an *indirect* predicate, only לעולם is used as the *direct* predicate: thus 10, 16 Yahweh reigneth עולם, but 106, 1 his mercy לעולם *is* for ever, Lam. 5, 19 כסאך לדור ודור. The observation is an acute one, and (I believe) correct: still, as we saw, words denoting time do stand as predicate, and as such are identified with the subject; can it be said that 'Thy throne is עולם' differs, so far as form is concerned, from 'we are תמול,' Job 8, 9? At least, the identification of a divine throne with eternity seems easier than that of God with a human throne. Cf. Ps. 52, 3 חסד אֵל כל־היום. 2 Chr. 12, 15^{b}.

Olshausen, admitting that Ez. 41, 22 etc. (§ 188. 2) are 'altogether different,' but yet feeling the difficulty of עולם, suggested that a *verb* had fallen out, and gives choice of four (בנה, הקים, כונן, הכין), one of which might be prefixed to כסאך: but this would render the first verse-half rather heavy, and Lagarde's סָעַד for וצר (*Proph. Chald.* p. XLVII) is rhythmically preferable (see Ps. 89, 2). The proposal, which has also been made, to omit אלהים as a gloss, would surely leave the first clause singularly weak[1].

195. The analogy of the primary predicate is followed also by the *tertiary* predicate. Just as Hebrew says 'the altar *was* stone,' so it says, not 'he made the altar *of* stone,' but 'he made the altar, stone.' This is different from the inverted order, which also occurs, 'he made the stones an

[1] For other suggestions on the passage, see Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (1888), pp. 127, 384; and *Bampton Lectures*, p. 182.

altar:' in the former 'he made the altar' is the chief thought, and is a complete sentence in itself; the material is specified by being appended to the term 'altar' in apposition: in the latter the 'stones' are the principal idea, and the sentence is only completed by the addition of the word 'altar.'

(1) Examples are frequent:—Gen. 2, 7 ויעש את האדם עפר מן האדמה and he made man, dust from the earth. Ex. 20, 25 לֹא תִבְנֶה אֶתְהֶן גָּזִית thou shalt not build them (of) hewn-stone. 25, 28. 26, 14. 15. 27, 1. 1 Ki. 7, 15. 27. Our idiom would here regularly insert *of*. And with the principal predicate *before* the verb:—Ex. 26, 1 וְאֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן תַּעֲשֶׂה עֶשֶׂר יְרִיעֹת. 29. 28, 39b. 38, 3 כָּל כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת all its vessels he made (of) copper.

When, however, the material is to be particularly specified, that naturally stands first: Ex. 25, 18 and thou shalt make two cherubim, gold; (here follow the closer directions) מִקְשָׁה תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתָם *beaten work* shalt thou make them. 29b. 39. 26, 1b. 7b. 31b. Dt. 27, 6 אבנים שלמות תבנה את מזבח י״י. Isa. 50, 3.

(2) In all the preceding instances the verb goes closely with the *object made*, in those which follow it goes primarily with the *material*:—Gen. 28, 18 וַיָּשֶׂם אֹתָהּ מַצֵּבָה. Ex. 12, 39 and they baked the dough עֻגֹת מַצּוֹת (into) unleavened cakes. 30, 25 ועשית אתו שמן and thou shalt make it (into) holy anointing oil. 32, 4. Lev. 24, 5. Nu. 17, 3. 4 and they beat them out (into) a covering for the altar. 1 Ki. 18, 32 ויבנה את האבנים מזבח. Jer. 5, 22. 18, 4. Hos. 4, 8 their silver (which) עָשׂוּ עֲצַבִּים they made (into) idols. Amos 4, 13 עושה שחר עיפה *lit.* maker of the dawn darkness. Isa. 50, 2b. 51, 10.

With the material or substance which is the *object* of the action preceding the verb:—Mic. 1, 7 עֲצַבֶּיהָ אָשִׂים שְׁמָמָה. 4, 13 וקרנך אשים ברזל and thy horn I will make iron. Isa. 26, 1 salvation maketh he (to be) walls and bulwark. Ps. 91, 9. Job 28, 2 ואבן יצוק נחשת and stone one melteth (into) copper. Also Ez. 35, 4 עריה חרבה אשים. Amos 5, 8 יום לילה החשיך day

he darkeneth (to) night (cf. with ל, Job 17, 12 לילה ליום ישימו).

And with that which is the *result* of the action preceding the verb:—1 Ki. 11, 34 כִּי נָשִׂיא אֲשִׁיתֶנּוּ. Ps. 39, 6 טפחות נתתה ימי. 89, 28 etc. Isa. 26, 18 *lit.* salvations (i.e. saved and safe) we could not make the land (cf. *v.* 7 ישר תפלס מעגל צדיק (into) an even one dost thou level the path of the just): cf. Ps. 58, 9 like a snail תָּמֵס יֵהָלֵךְ that passeth away into slime; and with a passive verb, Isa. 24, 12 ושאיה יכת שער and into ruins is the gate broken. Job 22, 16 נהר יוצק יסודם (into) a stream is melted their foundation.

Obs. I have multiplied examples here on account of their bearing on Ps. 104, 4 עשה מלאכיו רוחות משרתיו אש להט. Of these words two renderings, it will be clear, are quite legitimate: (1) 'maketh his messengers *of winds*, his ministers *of flaming fire*' (Del. Cheyne); Ex. 25, 28 (37, 15. 28) would then be a precise *formal* parallel, ועשית את הבדים עצי שטים, and the meaning would be that winds and fire are the elements of which the messengers are formed; and (2) 'maketh his angels *to be* winds, his messengers *to be* flaming fire' (LXX. Dr. Kay), i.e. transforms them into winds and fire (arrays them 'with the outward properties of physical phenomena') [the Targ., less literally, 'making his messengers (אוגרוי not his *angels*) *swift as* wind, his ministers *strong as* the glowing fire']. Can the words, however, be rendered, (3) 'who maketh his messengers the winds, his ministers the flaming fire?' Do they express not that God makes his messengers of winds, or transforms them (upon occasion) into winds, but that he uses the winds in his service? There is unquestionably much authority for this view: it was adopted without hesitation or remark by Rashi (עושה את הרוחות שלוחיו), Ibn Ezra (quoting Ps. 148, 8), Kimchi; and among moderns by Ewald, Hitz., Hupf.: it is also strongly commended by the general purport of the Psalm, which (as is well drawn out by Dean (now Bishop) Perowne, in a paper in the *Expositor*, Dec. 1878, p. 461) is to shew how the various *natural* agents are appropriated to different uses by the Creator. This, the same paper further tells us, was so strongly felt by the late Bishop Thirlwall, that nothing but the 'irresistible compulsion of a grammatical necessity,' derived from the order of the words, forced him to reject the rendering proposed: the Dean himself felt similarly until a comparison of Isa. 37, 26. 60, 18^{b} led him to think the difficulty might be overcome.

Where authorities are thus divided an opinion must be offered with diffidence: still *presumption* appears to me to be unfavourable to (3). Let us vary the phrase in Micah with the view of producing one as parallel as possible to the one before us. הַשָּׂם קַרְנָיו בַּרְזֶל would be a good Hebrew expression (cf. Ps. 69, 12 ואתנה לבושי שק. 147, 14 השם גבולך שלום): the *horns* would be the primary idea, and the object of the sentence would be to state that they were of iron: had the intention been to express that the iron was made into horns, the instances (2) above (p. 261) seem to shew that the order would have been השם ברזל קרניו: 104, 3. 18, 12. Jer. 17, 5 השם בשר זרועו. Job 31, 24. 38, 9 בשומו ענן לבושו. Isa. 54, 12 ושמתי כדכר שמשותיך (where the following clauses with ל can have no retrospective bearing on the construction of the first) would then be similar. If the analogy here suggested be just, it cannot but confirm the doubts entertained by Bishop Thirlwall against the rendering 'maketh the winds his messengers' etc.: would not the word *maketh*, also, in this expression, implying application only, and not constitution, be the equivalent of שם rather than עשה? Isa. 37, 26 the strong term להשאות limits far more than עשה the sense of what follows: 60, 18^{b} וקראת ישועה חומותיך the *definiteness* of חומותיך as compared with ישועה causes it to be naturally taken as the primary object; and in fact the same definiteness must be felt to give מלאכיו an analogous position in relation to רוחות. Nor would 60, 17^{b}, which might also be appealed to, be more decisive: the rendering of this passage given by A.V., Hitz., Dr. Kay, and R.V. cannot be shewn to be insufficient.

After all does the first rendering, 'Who maketh his messengers of winds, his ministers of flaming fire,' afford such an inadequate sense? Though it may not state it so directly as 'who maketh the winds his messengers etc.,' does it not still clearly imply that the winds and fire are the personified instruments executing the Divine purpose, and accordingly express substantially that appropriation of natural agents which Dean Perowne rightly desiderates?

APPENDIX V.

1. *The Casus Pendens.*

196. In prose and poetry alike, terseness and simplicity are the notes of Hebrew style. A sentence may indeed be prolonged indefinitely, when its different parts are connected merely by *and* (Dt. 8, 12–17. 24, 1–4. Jer. 13, 13); but otherwise, if it be at all involved, it speedily becomes unwieldy[1]. One of the secrets therefore of writing a lucid and classical Hebrew style is to break up a sentence into manageable subdivisions. In poetry each verse must have its own rhythmical scheme: it must be articulated, rhythmically and logically, into well-defined clauses; each of these must as a rule not consist of more than three or four words; and if for the sake of breadth or variety, a clause contains more, it should be such as to admit naturally of a pause in the course of it (Ps. 27, 4. 42, 5. 65, 10). It follows from this that a piece of modern English poetry, for instance, can seldom be rendered literally into Hebrew; its long sentences must be transformed so as to be capable of distribution into parallel clauses; and the abundance of epithets which in our eyes add richness and beauty, but which are incompatible with the light movement of a Hebrew lyric, must be sacrificed, and expressions chosen which, while brief, suggest them more or less by implication. Similar principles regulate the

[1] Instances of such sentences first become frequent in the latest Hebrew style, especially in Chronicles, Esther, and Daniel.

style of Hebrew prose. Sentences must be connected in the simplest manner possible: co-ordination must often take the place of subordination (pp. 157 *n.*, 186 f.): a series of conditional clauses must be relieved by והיה (§ 121), and a phrase like ἵνα ὅταν ἔλθῃ (Luke 14, 10) must be rendered, not by למען כאשר יבא, but either ואמר ... למען יבא or והיה כבוא ... ואמר (comp. Dt. 8, 12 f. R.V. and Heb.).

197. One of the commonest and most characteristic artifices of which Hebrew avails itself for the purpose of avoiding an unwieldy sentence is the *casus pendens* (in Arabic, the nominative). This possesses more advantages than one: not only does it give the subject (or object) a prominent place at the beginning, and ease the body of the sentence by permitting a light pronominal suffix to take its place: but it further rounds the sentence off, and gives it an ending upon which the voice may suitably rest (e.g. Job 29, 16 וריב אלמנה אחקרהו. Ps. 90, 17 ומעשה ידינו כוננהו).

The following are the principal types:—

(1) Gen. 28, 13 the land which thou liest upon, לך אתננה to thee will I give it and to thy seed (substitute אֶתֵּן for אתננה, and it will be found that, *however the words be arranged*, the sentence will lose either in neatness or expressiveness, or both). 26, 15. Dt. 2, 23. 7, 15. 14, 27. Josh. 9, 12 (אתו) this our bread—hot did we provide it from our houses, when etc. 2 Ki. 1, 4. 10, 29. Isa. 1, 7 אדמתכם זרים אוכלים אותה. 9, 1 (balance and parallelism far better preserved than by על יושבי ... אור נגה:). 15, 7b. 26, 11 accents (very harsh: Ew. Dillm. construe as R.V. *marg.*). 42, 3. 53, 4. 59, 12b. Jer. 36, 14. Ez. 32, 7. 8. Ps. 125, 5. 145, 6. 147, 20. Job 17, 15 ותקותי מי ישורנה (so Jer. 2, 24. Pr. 18, 14 וְרוּחַ כֶּהָה מִי יְשָׂאֶנָּה).

(2) Slightly different are Gen. 17, 15. 34, 8 שכם בני חשקה נפשו ... Dt. 32, 4 הצור תמים פעלו. 33, 17 בכור שורו הדר לו. 2 Sa. 21, 5 f. 23, 6 ובליעל כְּקוֹץ מֻנָד כֻּלָּהֶם but worthless men—as thorns driven away are all of them. Ps. 10, 5. 15 וָנֵרַע. 11, 4

(2 Chr. 16, 9). 18, 31 האל תמים דרכו. 46, 5. 89, 3. 90, 10. 104, 17. 125, 2. Isa. 11, 10 (cf. Ez. 10, 11b). 13, 17. 15, 5b. 16, 4 Del. R.V.[1] 19, 17 Hitz. Ch. (accentuating אותה אליו יפחד). 27, 2 the vineyard of wine—ענו לה sing ye of it! 32, 7 וכלי כליו רעים. 34, 3. 41, 29. 65, 25. Jer. 49, 21. Hos. 9, 8. 1 Sa. 2, 10. 1 Chr. 23, 14. 2 Chr. 15, 1. 20, 14; after a partcp. 1 Sa. 3, 11. Pr. 11, 26. 14, 21b. 16, 20b (see also p. 147, *n.* 2)[2].

Often also with אֵינֶנּוּ and עוֹדֶנּוּ, as Gen. 42, 13 והאחד איננו. 42, 36 יוסף איננו ושמעון איננו. Job 8, 22 ואהל רשעים אינם (much superior rhythmically to ואין אהל רשעים). Ps. 104, 35 ורשעים עוד אינם; Gen. 18, 22 ואברהם עודנו עומד. 44, 14 והוא עודנו שם. Nu. 11, 33. 1 Sa. 13, 7 ושאול עודנו בגלגל.

(3) Jud. 17, 5 והאיש מיכה לו בית אלהים. Lev. 7, 7. 33. Pr. 24, 8. Job 22, 8 ואיש זרוע לו הארץ.

(4) With a personal pronoun as subject, Gen. 17, 4 ואני הנה בריתי אתך (Isa. 59, 21). 24, 27. 48, 7. 49, 8 Judah! אתה יודוך אחיך *thou*—thy brethren shall praise thee. Dt. 18, 14b. 1 Sa. 12, 23. Ez. 4, 12 (30, 18). 9, 10. 33, 17b. Job 21, 4. 1 Chr. 22, 7. 28, 2. So ואני הנני Gen. 9, 9 etc.

(5) Gen. 42, 11 all of us—sons of one man are we. 2 Sa. 5, 1.

(6) The casus pendens is sometimes marked as the object, by את being prefixed: Gen. 13, 15. 21, 13. 1 Sa. 25, 29b. Lev. 3, 4. Isa. 51, 22. Ez. 16, 58; 2 Ki. 9, 27 גם אותו הכוהו; Gen. 47, 21. 1 Sa. 9, 13b for *him* just to-day—ye will find him.

Instances in which the predicate is introduced by וְ or וַ will be found §§ 123 *a*, 127 *a*.

Obs. 1. The same principle with ל, 1 Sa. 9, 20. 2 Sa. 6, 23. Josh. 17, 3. Qoh. 1, 11: ב, Neh. 9, 29. Ps. 35, 8; על, Jer. 50, 21. Ez. 1, 26b; מן, Gen. 2, 17. These examples differ from those cited § 123 *Obs.*, as

[1] Unless, as is done by LXX, R.V. *marg.*, and most moderns, we should read נְדָחַי מוֹאָב for נִדָּחֵי מוֹאָב.

[2] This use of the casus pendens is very common in Rabbinical Hebrew, *e.g.* in the Mishnah, *passim*.

will be clear if a couple be compared: 'in his iniquity which he hath done בו ימות, *in it* shall he die,' here the stress falls evidently upon בו; but in ובמשפטיך חטאו־בם 'and against thy statutes, they have sinned against them,' the emphasis is rather on the entire thought.

Obs. 2. Sometimes the subject, instead of being represented by a pronoun, is repeated, or replaced by an equivalent or alternative expression: Lev. 4, 11 f. (את כל הפר, referring back to all the parts named separately in *v.* 11: והוציא, § 123 *a*). 7, 19b והבשר כל טהור יאכל בשר and the flesh—every one that is clean shall eat flesh. 17, 3 f. (. . . איש איש אשר resumed by לאיש ההוא). 18, 9 (20, 6, § 123 *a*). 22, 22 (אלה). 23, 2 (מועדי). 25, 44 (עבד ואמה at the end, referring back to עבדך ואמתך). 27, 32. Nu. 14, 7 (lightening the sentence by making הארץ alone, without the relative clause, the *immediate* subject of the predication: so Jer. 27, 8 הגוי). 31, 35. 1 Ki. 10, 28b. The reference back is looser, Ez. 1, 13. 10, 10. 22. Hos. 8, 13; Jer. 44, 16. Dan. 1, 20 (see § 127 *γ*).

Isa. 1, 13b is to be explained on the same principle, 'new moon and sabbath, the calling a convocation—I cannot away with them' would be what analogy would lead us to expect; but the prophet heightens the effect of his words by substituting for *them*, a fresh object of his indignation און ועצרה. Jer. 13, 27 is rhythmically similar: 'thine adulteries, thy neighings, the lewdness of thy whoredom—upon the hills in the field have I seen thy abominations!' the last word שקוציך pointing back to, and resuming, נאופיך וגו'. Comp. 6, 2. Dt. 32, 14b.

Isa. 49, 19, the original subject חרבותיך וגו', as the sentence advances, is left in suspense, and 'replaced by *thou*, the subject of תצרי' (Hitz.).

198. If this use of the casus pendens be borne in mind, it will enable us to understand in what sense the assertion is true that the *copula* is expressed by the pron. of the 3rd person. Of course the mere juxtaposition of subj. and pred. —the latter as a rule standing first—is sufficient in Hebrew for predication, e. g. Gen. 3, 6 כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ. 4, 13 גָּדוֹל עֲוֹנִי מִנְּשׂוֹא: of what nature, then, are the instances in which the pronoun is employed as well? Two cases must be distinguished: those, viz., in which the pronoun is *interposed* between the subj. and pred., and those in which it *follows* the predicate. Let us take the latter case first. Such a sentence as 'these men are at peace with us' could be expressed by שלמים אתנו

הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה שְׁלֵמִים : but the form Gen. 34, 21 האנשים האלה הֵם אִתָּנוּ, lit. 'these men—they are at peace with us,' is at once less cumbrous and less abrupt: the subj. moreover has greater prominence, and at the same time the pred., still preceding הם as before it preceded האנשים, is not entirely deprived of emphasis. The pronoun, however, does not *express* the copula: שלמים הם אתנו *they are at peace with us* implies the copula, and is a complete sentence in itself, and the pred. שלמים is only referred to האנשים האלה by these words being prefixed as a casus pendens. The advantage of such a form when the subj. consists of a long relative clause will be evident. Gen. 30, 33. 31, 16 all the wealth which etc. לָנוּ הוּא וּלְבָנֵינוּ *it is ours and our children's* (how stiff the sentence would be if it read כי לנו ולבנינו כל העשר וגו׳). 43. 41, 25 the dream of Pharaoh, אחד הוא *it is one*. 45, 20. 47, 6. 48, 5 (לי הם). Ex. 3, 5b. 16, 36. 32, 16. Nu. 11, 7. 13, 3. Dt. 1, 17. 4, 24. Josh. 5, 15. 6, 19. 22, 14b. 2 Sa. 21, 2 (after לא). Isa. 1, 13. 41, 22 (Gen. 23, 15. Nu. 16, 11). 49, 21 but these—אֵיפֹה הֵם where were they? Qoh. 3, 15; with a partcp. Ps. 50, 6 for God—he is about to judge. Mic. 7, 3. Jer. 6, 28. Cf. in Aram. Dan. 2, 28 חלמך . . . דנה הוא.

Obs. 1. So after אֲשֶׁר in *negative* sentences, Gen. 7, 2 ומן הבהמה אשר לא מורצך הוא. Nu. 17, 5. Dt. 17, 15 אשר לא טהורה הוא. 20, 15. Jud. 19, 12. 1 Ki. 8, 41 (=2 Chr. 6, 32). 9, 20 (=2 Chr. 8, 7). But Ps. 16, 3 אשר בארץ המה is an unparalleled expression for the *positive* statement, 'who are in the land' (cf. 2 Sa. 7, 9): and we should in all probability read 'the saints אשר בארץ המה אדירי וג׳ that are in the land, *they* (§ 199) are the nobles, in whom (Ges.-K. § 130. 4) is my delight.'

Obs. 2. Zeph. 2, 12 and ye, Cushites—slain of the sword are they! with a change of person, after the opening vocative, as Mic. 1, 2=1 Ki. 22, 28 שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם; and regularly in such cases as Isa. 22, 16. 47, 8. 48, 1. 54, 1 shout, O barren one לא ילדה, *woman that hath* not borne! cry aloud לֹא חָלָה (p. 18, *n.*) *woman that hath* not travailed! עֲנִיָּה סֹעֲרָה לֹא נֻחָמָה 11 afflicted, tossed one, *woman that is* not comforted! Mic. 3, 9. 2 Ki. 9, 31 השלום זמרי הורג אדניו is it peace, thou Zimri, *his* (in our idiom, *thy*) master's murderer? Mal. 3, 9.

Ps. 76, 8 אתה נורא אתה *thou*—thou art to be feared (cf. Gen. 37, 30[b]), recalls the Syriac usage: Matth. 26, 73 ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܢܬ. John 4, 12. Comp. Jud. 5, 3 אנכי *I*—to Yahweh *I* will sing.

199. The case is different, when the pronoun stands *before* the predicate, which is then mostly (not always, Josh. 22, 22. Pr. 10, 18. 28, 26) definite. Now there is a difference between the definite and indefinite predicate: being defined, the pred. does not merely refer the subj. to a class, it *circumscribes* the class in such a way as to make the subj. identical with it: thus, to say τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιοῦν implies that nothing besides can claim that epithet, and a reflex emphasis is accordingly thrown back upon τὸ πνεῦμα. It follows further that, subj. and pred. being co-extensive, the proposition is a convertible one, and it is immaterial which of the two terms is considered to be the subject, though as a rule the one which from its position is the first to be apprehended *definitely* by the mind, will be most naturally so regarded. Now though the *mere* need of separating subj. and pred. in these cases (Ewald, § 297[b]) does not seem a sufficient explanation of the insertion of the pronoun (for, as the otherwise similar instances § 296[a], and above § 135. 7 shew, it could be dispensed with), it will not be difficult after what has been said to conjecture the motives which must have dictated its use: in virtue of its power of resuming and reinforcing the subject (§ 123 *Obs.*[1]), the pronoun at once makes it plain which of the two terms is the subject, and at the same time gives effect to the emphasis which, it has been just shewn, in these cases belongs to it. Observation corroborates the justice of this explanation. If the instances be examined, it will be found that, while they are much less common than those explained in § 198, the pronoun as a

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[1] Add (from one book) Pr. 6, 32. 11, 28. 13, 13. 21, 29. 22, 9. 24, 12. 28, 26; more rarely, where the pred. is a partcp. (undefined), Dt. 31, 3. 1 Sa. 1, 13. Josh. 22, 22.

rule is evidently meant to be emphatic: in a large proportion of cases, consisting of the phrases יהוה הוא האלהים (Dt. 4, 35. 39. 7, 9. 1 Ki. 18, 39 etc.), יהוה הוא העובר, יהוה הוא הַנִּלְחָם לכם, יהוה הוא ההולך לפניכם, or לפניך (Dt. 3, 22[1]. 9, 3. 31, 6. 8 al.), this is unmistakeable[2]. Thus יהוה הוא האלהים is 'Yahweh, *He* (and none else) is the God:' Dt. 10, 9. 18, 2 יהוה הוא נחלתו Yahweh, *He* is his inheritance (cf. 10, 17). But the pronoun is not the copula: הוא נחלתו (as 10, 21 הוא תהלתך shews) is a complete sentence; and the pronoun here merely resumes the subj. *with* emphasis, just as when in a different position, § 198, it resumes it *without* emphasis[3]. In both cases alike, then, the copula is not expressed by the pronoun, but is *understood:* in translating, however, it is generally convenient to drop the pronoun, and hence *the substantive verb seems to be its only representative.* Further instances:—Gen. 2, 14. 19 (הוא resuming the rel. clause *whatever* ...; cf. with a verb 15, 4. 44, 17. Ex. 12, 16. Dt. 1, 30, and often). 9, 18 וְחָם and Ham, *he* was the father etc. 15, 2. 42, 6 ויוסף הוא השליט and Joseph, *he* was the ruler over the land, *he* was the counsellor. Dt. 12, 23 הדם הוא הנפש. Isa. 9, 14. 33, 6. Job 28, 28. Ez. 27, 13. 17. 21 f. (cf. 23, 45. 36, 7). Hos. 11, 5[4]. Cf. Nu. 16, 3 כל העדה כֻּלָּם קדשים.

[1] Where the stress is on *who* is הנלחם לכם: 4, 24 (§ 198) on the contrary the stress is on *what* Yahweh is, viz. אש אוכלה.

[2] The parallelism in Dt. 9, 3. 31, 3. 8. Jos. 22, 22 (cf. 23, 3 and 5), where הוא is resumptive, first with the ptcp., and afterwards (cf. § 123 *Obs.*) with *the finite verb* (יי אלהיך הוא הצובר לפניך אש אוכלה הוא; יי הוא יֹרֵעַ וישראל הוא יֵדָע; ישמידם והוא יכניעם לפניך), affords a strong argument against the opinion that הוא in this position was felt merely to do duty for the copula. Cf. also Ps. 100, 3 and 101, 6[b]; Pr. 28, 26[a] and [b].

[3] Albrecht, *ZATW.* 1888, pp. 250–2 does not properly distinguish these two cases.

[4] So ὁ Θεός ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν = האלהים הוא הפועל. The inserted pronoun doubtless in time lost its distinctive force, and ultimately *became* little more than the copula (cf. the 'pronoun of separation' in Arabic: Wright, ii. § 124); but Neh. 2, 20. 1 Chr. 11, 20 (Ryssel,

Obs. So after אֲשֶׁר in *positive* sentences, chiefly before an adj. or ptcp.; Gen. 9, 3 כל־רמש אשר הוא חי, Lev. 11, 26. 39. Nu. 9, 13 האיש אשר הוא טהור. 14, 8. 27. 35, 31. Dt. 20, 20 העיר אשר הוּא עשֹׂה עִמָּךְ מלחמה. 1 Sa. 10, 19. 2 Ki. 25, 19 (‖ Jer. 52, 25 היה for הוא). Jer. 27, 9. Ez. 43, 19. Hag. 1, 9. Ruth 4, 15. Neh. 2, 18. Qoh. 4, 2. 7, 26; and before a verb 2 Ki. 22, 13 (היא omitted in the ‖ 2 Chr. 34, 21). These are probably all the instances that occur. On the same usage in other Semitic languages, comp. the references in the writer's note on 1 Sa. 10, 19.

200. Does הוא do duty for the copula when inserted between אַתָּה or אֲנִי and the predic., as Ps. 44, 5 אַתָּה הוא מַלְכִּי? Here we must either (with Roorda, § 563, and Delitzsch on Isa. 37, 16) suppose that הוא strengthens the preceding pronoun, as though equivalent to *αὐτός*—'*thou, he* (and none else), art my king,' or (with Ewald, § 297[b] *end*[1]) regard it as anticipating the predicate—'*thou* art *he*—my king.' The rarity with which הוא is appended to a *noun*—Isa. 7, 14 יי הוא. Nu. 18, 23 הלוי הוא. Esth. 9, 1 stand perhaps alone in O.T.—the difficulty of separating אֲנִי הוא הַמְדַבֵּר Isa. 52, 6 from אֲנִי הוא 41, 4. 43, 10. 13[2] etc. and אתה הוא Ps. 102, 28 (where הוא is, of course, predicate), and the analogous . . . מי הוא (if not . . . אלה הם as well), where the pronoun cannot be accounted for except on the assumption that it is anticipatory, favour the latter supposition. The other instances are אנכי אנכי הוּא 2 Sa. 7, 28 אתה הוא האלהים. Isa. 37, 16. 43, 25 מֹחֶה פשעיך. 51, 9. 10. 12. Jer. 14, 22. 29, 23[b] Kt. (Ew. Keil

p. 63) do not differ from Gen. 24, 7. 2 Sa. 14, 19[b]: Esth. 2, 14 הוא is required on account of the partcp.; and אתה הוא Neh. 9, 7 is by no means *peculiar* to the latest books. With the use of the pronoun to signify the presence of the subject, Lev. 13, 4 (noted on the same page), comp. 1 Sa. 20, 33 (though the text is here doubtful). Isa. 36, 21. Jer. 50, 15. 25. 51, 6. 11; cf. Mic. 2, 3, and perhaps Job 32, 8 (or § 201. 1?).

[1] So *Gramm. Arab.* § 657; and Aug. Müller, § 499.

[2] Where *I am he* (sc. that I have ever been) = 'I am the same,' predicating the identity of an individual with himself: but whether הוא can predicate the identity of *different* individuals, as many commentators suppose on Job 3, 19, must be regarded as exceedingly doubtful.

etc.). Neh. 9, 6. 2 Chr. 20, 6. So in Aram. Dan. 2, 38 אנתה הוא ראשה די דהבא. 5, 13. Gen. 16, 13 Onq. את הוא אלהא חָזֵי כולא. Ps. 71, 5 את הוא סוברי.

Obs. 1. 1 Chr. 21, 17. Ez. 38, 17 also, הוא is clearly predicate. The change of person which follows in these passages (*κατὰ σύνεσιν*) is very unusual: Jer. 49, 12 ואתה הוא נקה תנקה may, however, perhaps offer a parallel[1]—the relative being omitted (§ 201. 2); see also Jud. 13, 11. Neh. 9, 7 (cf. Nu. 22, 30); and cf. in Syriac, Wright, *Apocr. Acts of Apostles*, pp. 179, 12. 180, 3. 198, 11 al.; *Acta Pelagiae*, pp. 3, 20. 8, 7.

Obs. 2. Ezra 5, 11 (Aram.) . . . אנחנו המו is quite in accordance with the Syriac usage, Luke 22, 67 ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ if *thou art* the Christ. 70, and often. Matth. 5, 13 ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܠܚܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ *ye are* the salt of the earth (Nöldeke, § 312 D).

201. (1) Another class of cases, however, though a small one, exists, in which the predicate standing first, the pronoun is found before the *subject:* Isa. 51, 19 שְׁתַּיִם הנה קֹרֹאתיך. Pr. 30, 24. 29. Cant. 6, 8. 9 אחת היא יונתי. Lam. 1, 18 צדיק הוא י״י, cf. 1 Chr. 9, 26 (המה). How these are to be understood, will appear from a comparison of Pr. 6, 16. 30, 15. 18, cf. 1 Sa. 6, 9: the pronoun in all alike is an imperfect anticipation of the subject, which in the former is completed by the *noun* following, just as in the latter it is completed by the relative clause following: 'four things are they, the little ones of the earth' is quite parallel to 'three things are they, (which) are too wonderful for me,' 'three things are they, (which) be not satisfied,' 'an accident is it, (that) hath befallen us[2].'

Obs. The pronoun anticipates the subj. rather differently, Ez. 11, 15. 21, 16. And may not Isa. 10, 5 ומטה הוא בידם זעמי be most easily construed similarly? the order, and (in the Hebrew) the rhythm, of 'and a staff is it in their hand, mine indignation' closely resembles that of 'to us is it given, the land, for a possession.'

(2) The pronoun is used very similarly after מי:—Gen. 27, 33 מי אפוא הוא הצד ציד *who* then is *he*—the one that

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[1] Otherwise Ewald, § 314ᵃ (*du selbst*), Delitzsch (*l.c.*): cf. the 'enclitic' ܗܘ, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.* § 221.

[2] So also probably Qoh. 6, 10 and that which he, even man, is, is known (Delitzsch, Nowack).

hunted venison? Ps. 24, 10 מי הוא זה מלך הכבוד[1]; elsewhere with the finite verb, the relative being omitted, Isa. 50, 9 מי הוא ירשיעני (cf. 60, 8 מי אלה כעב תעופינה. 1 Sa. 26, 14 מי אתה קראת). Job 4, 7 מִי הוּא נָקִי אָבַד *who* is *he* (that) perished innocent (§ 161. 3)? 13, 19 מי הוא יריב עמדי, al.; and in the plural, Gen. 21, 29. Zech. 1, 9. 4, 5 מה המה אלה *what* are *they*—these? = what are these? With זה, Jer. 30, 21. Comp. Ewald, § 325[a].

(3) It is found, thirdly, in the formulae . . . אלה הם and (in the sing.) . . . זה הוא. The first of these, if Noldius is to be trusted, occurs only Gen. 25, 16. Lev. 23, 2 אֵלֶּה הֵם מוֹעֲדֵי יי׳. Nu. 3, 20. 21. 27. 33. 1 Sa. 4, 8. 1 Chr. 1, 31. 8, 6. 12, 15, the construction without הם being far more common (Gen. 36, 5. 12 etc.). In 1 Sa. 4, אלה has a disjunctive accent, and the pronoun following seems intended to give it emphasis—'these—*they* (= eben diese) are the gods which smote' etc. (cf. 2 Chr. 28, 23); but the other passages are different, and אלה is apparently devoid of any particular stress, so that it is most natural to regard הם, as הוא above, to be merely anticipatory. If this explanation be rejected, it can only be supposed that, though originally הם had an independent emphasis, this was in course of time lost, and the combination used without regard to it[2].

Of . . . זה הוא, the only examples are 1 Chr. 22, 1. Qoh. 1, 17; but it is frequent in post-Biblical Hebrew (where the two words even coalesce into one זֶהוּ). Qoh. 2, 23 גם זֶה הֶבל הוא. 4, 8[b]. 5, 18[b]. 6, 2[b] (in all which the order is different) belong rather to § 198; so also 1, 10 (disregarding accents).

Obs. In Aramaic, comp. (1) Dan. 2, 9 חדא היא דתכון. Gen. 18, 25 Onq. קושטא אינון דינך. 2 Sa. 2, 27. 4, 9 and often קַיָם הוּא יהוה. Ex. 2, 6 מבני יהודאי הוא דין. Dt. 30, 12 Jerus. לא בשמיא היא אוריתא. Ps. 42, 4 אן הוא אלהך. 63, 4 טב הוא חסדך. 66, 3 מה דחילין היגון

[1] מי הוא made more pointed by the enclitic זה, as מי alone, *v.* 8. Jer. 49, 19 al.

[2] Cf. in Arabic Qor. 3, 8, cited by Dr. Wright, ii. § 124.

עובדך; (2) Dan. 3, 15[b] . . . ומן הוא אלה די. Ezra 5, 4; (3) Dan. 4, 27 הלא דא היא בבל רבתא. Ex. 14, 25 Onq. דא היא גבורתא די"י; and see Ps. 119, 84 Pesh. . . . ܟܡܐ ܐܢܘܢ, and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 311. Similarly in the Mishnah, as *Aboth* 2, 1 איזו היא דרך ישרה שֶׁיָּבֹר לו האדם; 2, 16 נאמן הוא בעל מלאכתך שישלם־לך שכר פעלתך, etc.

2. *Some Uses of the Infinitive with Lamed.*

202. The use of the infinitive with יֵשׁ and אֵין does not differ substantially from the corresponding Greek construction with ἔστιν and οὐκ ἔστιν respectively: the one affirms, the other denies, the action indicated by the verb, not as a particular past or future occurrence, but (in virtue of the signification of the inf. and ל) as an intention capable of execution *in the abstract:* i.e. its possibility generally.

(1) 2 Sa. 14, 19 אִם אִשׁ לְהֵמִין if *it is possible to go* to the right hand or to the left of all that the king has said! 21, 4. 2 Ki. 4, 13 הֲיֵשׁ לְדַבֶּר־לָךְ *can* (*I*) *speak* for thee to the king? 2 Chr. 25, 9; but the usage only becomes frequent later: Hag. 1, 6 (*ter*). Esth. 4, 2 אין לבוא. 8, 8. Ezra 9, 15. 1 Chr. 23, 26 וגם ללוים אין לשאת for the Levites also *it was not* (i.e. *they had not*) to bear. 2 Chr. 5, 11 אין לשמור למחלקות *it was not* possible to keep the courses. 20, 6[1] ואין עמך להתיצב none *can* stand in conflict with thee (עם as Ps. 94, 16). 22, 9. 35, 15 (had no need), cf. *v.* 3. Qoh. 3, 14. Without ל, Ps. 40, 6 אין עֲרֹךְ אליך *there is no comparing* unto thee, οὐκ ἔστι παραβάλλειν σοί, and, as the text stands, Job 34, 18[2]: cf. Ez. 18, 3.

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[1] But 14, 10 is different: there is none *with thee* (=*beside* or *like thee:* cf. Ps. 73, 25) to help (and decide: cf. Lev. 26, 12. 33) between the mighty and (him that hath) no strength (constr. of לאין כח as לאין אונים Isa. 40, 29). Comp. Ruth 4, 4.

[2] But the *inf. c.* alone, without either אין or ל (§ 204 *end*), is very much opposed to analogy; and it is better either to punctuate הֶאָמֹר (*inf. abs.*, as Job 40, 2. Jer. 7, 9: Ew. § 328[a]), or to read (with LXX, Vulg., Ew., Dillm., al.) הָאֹמֵר.

(2) Where לֹא is found instead of אֵין, it denies more absolutely, and categorically, אין implying that though the attempt to do the act would be folly, still it might be made, but לא implying that the conditions are such that it would be (or actually was) out of the question altogether:—Jud. 1, 19 כִּי לֹא לְהוֹרִישׁ . . . (where אין would not have been strong enough). Amos 6, 10 *there is no* mentioning the name etc. (for dread of the consequences). 1 Chr. 5, 1 וְלֹא לְהִתְיַחֵשׂ לַבְּכֹרָה and he *could not be* reckoned for the birthright. 15, 2 לֹא לְשָׂאת (*must* not); and in Aramaic, Dan. 6, 9 דִּי לָא לְהַשְׁנָיָה. Ezra 6, 8.

203. With the substantive verb, the inf. with ל expresses naturally the idea of *destination:*—Nu. 8, 11 וְהָיוּ לַעֲבֹד. 24, 22 יִהְיֶה לְבָעֲר Qáyin shall be *for consuming*. Dt. 31, 17. Isa. 5, 5. 6, 13. 37, 26; cf. 44, 15. 2 Ki. 16, 15^{b}; and with a passive verb, Ez. 30, 16 לְהִבָּקֵעַ. Scarcely different is מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת *quid est faciendum?* Isa. 5, 4. 2 Ki. 4, 13. 2 Chr. 25, 9 al.

204. This usage may lead us on to the so-called 'periphrastic future.' Here the inf. with ל, expressing as usual a direction, tendency, or aim, forms the sole predicate: the subject, as a rule, stands first so as to engage the mind, the purpose which is postulated for it follows; and thus the idea arises of an inevitable sequence, or obligation, though not one of a formal and pronounced character, which is expressed in Hebrew by other means[1]. Hos. 9, 13 ואפרים להוציא להורג בניו and Ephraim *is for bringing forth* his sons to the slayer, —or as this is the entire scope and object in regard to which Ephraim is here considered—*is to* or *must* bring forth. Isa. 10, 32 yet to-day (such is his haste) בְּנֹב לעמד in Nob *is he for* tarrying, or *must* he tarry. 38, 20 י״י להושיעני *is ready to*

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[1] By the addition of על (on the analogy of נדריך עלי אלהים, Ps. 56, 13); as 2 Sa. 18, 11 וְעָלַי לָתַת לְךָ and it would have been *incumbent upon* me to give thee. Neh. 13, 13. Ezra 10, 12 (Baer) כדבריך עלינו לעשות; or of ל, Mic. 3, 1. 2 Chr. 13, 5. 20, 17. 26, 18: 1 Sa. 23, 20 וְלָנוּ הַסְגִּירוֹ and it shall be our place (*or* for us) to deliver him etc.

save me, A.V. Jer. 51, 49[1]. Hab. 1, 17[2]. Ps. 32, 9. 49, 15 and their form לְבַלּוֹת שְׁאוֹל *is for* the wasting away of She'ol[3] = must She'ol waste away. 62, 10. Pr. 18, 24. 19, 8 a man of understanding למצא טוב *will be finding* prosperity. 20, 25 *will have to* enquire. Job 30, 6 בערוץ נחלים לָשֶׁבֶת *must* they dwell (R.V.). 1 Chr. 22, 5 לבנות לי"י להגדיל למעלה *must be* built to Yahweh so as to shew greatness exceedingly etc. Ezra 10, 12 (Hahn) כדבריך עלינו לעשות ; Qoh. 3, 15.

More rarely of past time :—2 Sa. 4, 10 אֲשֶׁר לְתִתִּי לוֹ cui *dandum erat mihi*. 2 Ki. 13, 19 לְהַכּוֹת *percutiendum erat* quinquies aut sexies ; and after an *implied* injunction 1 Chr. 9, 25. 2 Chr. 8, 13 (cf. Gen. 42, 25); and, more freely, 11, 22 כי להמליכו for (it was his purpose) to make him king. 12, 12 ולא להשחית and *was no longer for* destroying utterly[4]. 26, 5 ויהי לדרש and he *set himself* (A.V.) to seek etc. 36, 19 : cf. 28, 23. Also Gen. 15, 12. Josh. 2, 5 and the gate *was about to be* shut.

In a question:—Gen. 30, 15 וְלָקַחַת and art thou for taking? Esth. 7, 8 הגם לכבוש את המלכה עמי בבית. 2 Chr. 19, 2 הלרשע לעזר wilt thou help the *wicked*? cf. Ex. 2, 14 with אומר.

Obs. 1. Isa. 44, 14 לְכָרֶת־לוֹ, if the reading be correct, must be also added, 'a man *prepares to*—or *must*—hew him cedars;' for it can scarcely be supposed that this is an isolated example of a real impf. in ל, such as is met with in Ezra and Daniel (להוא, להוין), in the Targ. of Ps.-Jon. Ex. 22, 24 (להוי), in the Talmud (e. g. דליתנו *ut dent*, לונו *eant*, דלשמעו, דליקומו, לימרו, דלייתו *ut afferant*, etc.), in Mandaic (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.* §§ 166, 196), and also, as it

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[1] 'Yea, Babylon must fall' (Ew., Hitz., Graf): but Rashi paraphrases היתה לנפול בה חללי ישראל; and similarly Kimchi, A.V.

[2] Where Del. remarks that (e. g.) לעשות may have the signification of either *est facturus, est faciendum, est faciendo*,—the tense of the subst. verb (which is implied in the construction itself) being determined naturally by the connexion.

[3] Construction as Ex. 17, 1. 2 Sa. 16, 2 לאכול הנערים for the eating of the young men. 19, 20[b].

[4] Comp. the use of ולא ל, 28, 21. 1 Chr. 21, 17.

would seem, in Assyrian[1]. On this, in addition to the references given by Dr. Pusey, *Lectures on Daniel*, pp. 49, 623 (ed. 3), see Dietrich, *Abhandlungen* (1846), pp. 182, 186, and Lowe, *Fragment of Talmud Babli* (Cambridge, 1879), p. 1 ff., who shews, by instances, that it has no distinctively jussive force, but that, as Nöldeke says, both in Mandaic and in the Talmud, it interchanges freely with the form in נ, without any difference in signification. Indeed, the impf. in ל seems to be but a phonetic variation of that in נ, and should doubtless be altogether disconnected from the Rabbinical infin. with ל (see *Obs.* 2), although, as the two are apt to approximate closely both in usage and form—comp. e.g. Dukes, *Blumenlese*, No. 44 (p. 96), 465 (fut.), 599, 601, 662 (infin.)—they have been supposed by some to have a common origin[2]. (On the forms in Ezr. Dan., comp. also A. A. Bevan, *Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1892, p. 35 f.)

Obs. 2. This usage is employed freely in later Hebrew; e.g. *Aboth* 4, 22 Jost or Strack (31 Taylor) הילודים למות והמתים להחיות והחיים לידון the born *are to* die, and the dead *are to* revive, and the living *are to* be judged; and in such formulae as תַּלְמוּד לוֹמַר the Scripture *means to* say, *Kerithoth* 9, 6 and often; איכא למימר numquid *dicendum?* ליחוש *timendum* est, ליתני *docendum* erat, לימא לן את *dicas* nobis *tu*, לומר לך *dicam* tibi, למה ליה למימר כחצות why *was he* (obliged) *to* say כחצות? וליעביד איפיכא *et agendum erat* inverso modo (Dietrich, l.c., p. 184 f.). Cf. the common היה לו לומר he *ought to have* said.

205. Another usage of the inf. and ל is to be connected with that *gerundial* use of this idiom, which is well known (Ewald, 280[d]: 1 Sa. 12, 17. 14, 33 lo, the people are sinning לֶאֱכֹל *so as to eat = in eating* with the blood. 20, 20 *so as to*

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[1] It is hardly doubtful, however, that Ewald, Cheyne, Delitzsch (ed. 4), and Dillmann, are right in treating לכרת as simply an error of transcription for יכרת or כָּרֹת.

[2] In some of the passages in which this form is cited as a future, it seems, from the construction, to be really an *infin.*: thus Ex. 10, 28 Jer. הוא צבא לממות ולא להוי שמע למלך; Fürst, *Perlenschnüre*, p. 44, 39 (= Esth. 1, 2 Targ. II) after וכא (p. 43, 26 is למהוי). p. 62, 4 יהא רעוא קדמך . . . ולהוא אנא פקידא. Instances of the inf. Qal without מ are met with occasionally in Aramaic: Ezra 5, 13 לבנא. Gen. 9, 14 Onq. בענוותי. 49, 6 קטול (absol.). Lev. 13, 7 Ps.-Jon. הלוכי. Ps. 105, 14 למלומיהון, 109, 23 בצליותיה. Cant. 1, 8 למהי; in the Talm. נכנסין לוכל intrant ad edendum, לימא etc., and להוי itself, Dukes, No. 662 תפיש תירום אמתא בחד מחטרא להוי.

aim, or *aiming*, at a mark. 36. 1 Chr. 22, 5 להגדיל); its use, viz. after a particle of comparison, where the sense *so as to* merges into that of *in respect of*. Gen. 3, 22 ye shall be as one of us לָדַעַת *so as to know* etc., which does not differ from *in respect of knowing* good and evil. 41, 19 לָרַע[1]. Pr. 26, 2 כצפור לנוד כדרור לעוף (cf. 25, 3). 2 Sa. 14, 25 now as Absalom there was no man fair in Israel לְהַלֵּל מְאֹד—either, *for praising* (= to be praised) exceedingly, LXX *αἰνετὸς σφόδρα*, or *in respect of* praising. Isa. 21, 1 כסופות בנגב לחלוף as whirlwinds in the South (Gen. 12, 9 R.V. *marg.*) *for*, or *in respect of*, sweeping through. Ez. 38, 9. 16. 1 Chr. 12, 8 כצבאים על ההרים לְמַהֵר.

206. The inf. with ל also appears in continuation of a finite verb, the particular sense to be assigned to it being determined by the mood of that verb, but implying generally the presence of some aim or purpose:—Ex. 32, 29 מלאו ידכם היום ליהוה . . . וְלָתֵת עליכם ברכה fill your hand (i.e. consecrate yourselves, 2 Chr. 29, 31) this day unto Yahweh, . . . and *be for placing* upon yourselves a blessing (i.e. and act so that a blessing may be bestowed upon you). Lev. 10, 10. 11 (cf. R.V. *marg.*"); 1 Sa. 8, 12 וְלָשׂוּם (after a fut.). 1 Chr. 6, 34. 12, 33. 2 Chr. 2, 8 (continuing וישלח, *v.* 7). 7, 17. 30, 9 *and will be for* returning; Amos 8, 4 ye panters after the needy וְלַשְׁבִּית *and* (that are) *for making* (or *that would make*) to fail the poor of the land. Isa. 44, 28[3]. 56, 6[4]. Ps. 104, 21 (all after the ptcp.); Jer. 17, 10[3]. 19, 12[3] (continuing אעשה). 44, 14. 19; Ez. 13, 22 ולחזק (continuing הכות). Job 34, 8[b5]. Ps.

[1] Cf. Ex. 24, 10 as heaven itself לָטֹהַר *for* brightness.

[2] But the construction is here somewhat forced; and it is possible that these two verses do not stand in their original context.

[3] The rendering 'even' (A.V., R.V.) in these passages and in Qoh. 9, 1 does not represent properly the force of the Hebrew.

[4] At least the accents and the parallelism suggest that ולאהבה is the continuation of הגלוים rather than of לשרתו.

[5] If וללכת be treated, as is done by Ew., Del., R.V., as parallel to לחברה rather than to וארח.

25, 14. 109, 16 ונכאֵה לבב למותת and *is for slaying* etc. Qoh. 7, 25 (Delitzsch, Nowack, R.V.). 9, 1 ולבור[1] (after ונתתי). Whether 1 Chr. 10, 13. Neh. 8, 13 belong here is doubtful[2].

Obs. Only once thus, of *past* time, in an earlier author, 1 Sa. 14, 21[b] now the Hebrews had been to the Philistines as aforetime (cf. 2, 27. 19, 7. 2 Sa. 19, 29), in that they went up with them to the camp, וגם המה להיות and they also *were for being* with Israel. But the *v.* seems clearly meant to describe, not a purpose or preparation, but a fact; and though a sense of the former is evanescent in some of the passages where the inf. and ל is used by the Chronicler (§ 204), this must not be assumed as a matter of course in an early writer. In point of fact LXX. Pesh. (perhaps), Vulg. for סביב וגם המה read סבבו גם המה (Targ. *adds* תבו); and this on the whole, though it involves the insertion of אשר after העברים (οἱ ὄντες LXX), seems preferable: 'and the Hebrews, who were etc. . . . , *they also turned* (2 Sa. 3, 12) to be with Israel:' cf. *v.* 22.

207. Occasionally the ל introduces the inf. merely as the *object* of a verb:—Isa. 5, 2 ויקו לעשות ענבים. Esth. 4, 13 think not *te evasuram esse.* 1 Chr. 29, 17.

3. *Order of Words.*

208. The following illustrations of variations in the order of words (noted briefly by Ewald, § 309[a]) may be useful:—

(1) *Object, verb, subject.* This, the effect of which is to throw emphasis on the object, is fairly frequent; and examples from two or three books will be sufficient: 1 Sa. 2, 19 ומעיל קטן תעשה־לו אמו. 7, 14. 15, 1 אתי שלח יי. 17, 36. 25, 43. 28, 18[b]. 19[b]. 1 Ki. 14, 11. Isa. 6, 5[b] כי את המלך יי צבאות ראו עיני. 9, 7. 26, 9[b]. 40, 19. 64, 1. Ps. 11, 5[b]. 139, 16 גלמי ראו עיניך. Job 5, 2. 14, 19. 15, 30.

(2) *Object, subject, verb.* This is exceedingly rare, except with the participle, when it is the usual order:—2 Ki. 5, 13.

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[1] Unless the true reading be that of LXX, Pesh. (so Bickell) וְלִבְנֵי רָאָה (cf. 1, 16), which is very possible, as the meaning of בור is doubtful. Grätz conjectured וְלָחוּר (1, 13. 2, 3. 7, 25).

[2] With §§ 202–206, comp. Ewald, 237[c], 295[f], 351[c].

Isa. 5, 17. 28, 17b וסתר מים ישטפו. Jer. 34, 5b. 49, 11. Ps. 51, 5. Pr. 5, 2b ודעת שפתיך ינצרו. 5. Qoh. 12, 14: but with the ptcp., Gen. 37, 16 את אחי אנכי מבקש. 41, 9. Jud. 9, 36. 14, 4. 2 Ki. 6, 22. Jer. 1, 11. 7, 19 האתי הם מכעיסים. 45, 4. 51, 6 al.

(3) *Subject, object, verb.* Here the subject is followed immediately by the object, with which it has no *direct* connexion; a break, often reflected in the accentuation, is thus produced, which by inviting a pause almost gives to the subject the prominence of a *casus pendens:* at the same time, in prose, a poetical colouring is conferred upon the phrase by the verb being transferred to the end, while in poetry the monotony of two similarly constructed parallel clauses may be avoided:—Gen. 17, 9 ואתה בריתי תשמר. 23, 6b (איש לא יכלה קברו would have been a little dull). Jud. 17, 6. Lev. 7, 18c. 21, 10 (allows stress to rest on ראשו and בגדיו). 13. 26, 8. 1 Sa. 20, 20 ואני (unless the reading of LXX, § 163 *Obs.*, is to be here preferred). Isa. 3, 17. 11, 8b. 13, 18. 17, 5. 26, 19. 30, 24. 32, 8 ונדיב נדיבות יעץ but the liberal man—he counselleth liberal things. Ez. 18, 19. 27b. 23, 25b המה בניך ובנותיך יקחו. 34, 19. 36, 7. Hos. 12, 11. Ps. 6, 10b. 10, 14. 11, 5a. 56, 7 המה עקבי ישמרו. Jer. 32, 4b ודבר פיו עם פיו ועיניו את עיניו יראינה. 34, 3. 2 Chr. 31, 6, which perhaps justifies the Mas. text of 2 Sam. 17, 27–29.

Obs. A tendency may often be observed in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra to throw the verb to the end. With the place of the *infin.* in Isa. 42, 24. 49, 6 ונצירי ישראל להשיב comp. Dt. 28, 56 אשר לא נסתה כף רגלה הצג. Jud. 9, 24 ודמם לשום. Neh. 10, 37. Esth. 3, 13b=8, 11b. 2 Chr. 31, 7. 10; and in Aramaic Ezra 4, 22 (שלו object to למעבר). 5, 9. 13. Dan. 2, 16. 18. 3, 16 (פתגם not connected with על דנה, but the obj. to להתבותך: the order in Pesh. is similar). 4, 15 לא יכלין פשרא להודעוניני. 5, 8. 15b; 6, 5 seems rather to resemble Lev. 19, 9. 2 Sa. 11, 16. The so-called 'periphrastic future' has also commonly the same position (§ 204).

(4) *Verb, object, subject.* This order emphasizes, as Ewald says, the subject at the end:—Gen. 21, 7 היניקה בנים שרה. Nu. 5, 23. 19, 7. 18. Jud. 12, 11. 13. 1 Sa. 15, 33. 1 Ki. 8,

63[b]. 19, 10. Isa. 19, 13 התעו את מצרים פנת שבטיה. Jer. 31, 2. 36, 9. 24. 48, 4. Jon. 3, 8. Ez. 23, 47. Ps. 34, 22; otherwise rare, except when the object is the light pronominal אֹתוֹ, אֹתָם, etc.; Ex. 12, 6. Jer. 3, 11 (נפשה). 49, 16.

4. *On Constructions of the type* יוֹם הַשִּׁבִּיעִי[1].

209. As is well known, when a substantive in Hebrew is defined by the article, an accompanying adj. or partcp. is, as a rule, defined by it likewise (e.g. הַמְּאוֹר הַגָּדוֹל). In post-Biblical Hebrew (the Mishnah etc.) it became customary in such cases to *omit* the article before the subst. (as כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה the great Synagogue, יֵצֶר הָרַע the evil inclination); and the beginnings of this usage are traceable in the Old Testament. It may be of interest to collect, and if possible, to analyse the principal instances that occur.

(1) With an *adjective*. Here, though the cases altogether are relatively few, the usage appears to have arisen in connexion with familiar words, which were felt to be sufficiently definite in themselves, without the addition of the article, as יוֹם, Gen. 1, 31 יום הששי. 2, 3 את יום השביעי. Ex. 12, 15 מיום הראשון עד יום השביעי. 18. 20, 10 (in the Decalogue) = Dt. 5, 14 את יום השביעי. Lev. 19, 6. 22, 27; חָצֵר *court*, 1 Ki. 7, 8 חצר האחרת the *other* court (see R.V.). 12 חצר הגדולה[2]. 2 Ki. 20, 4 Qrê. Ez. 40, 28 חצר חפנימי. 31 חצר החיצונה; שער, Ez. 9, 2 שער העליון (so 2 Chr. 23, 20). Zech. 14, 10 שער הראשון; מבוא, Jer. 38, 14 מבוא השלישי אשר בבית יהוה,—the last three words

[1] The substance of this section appeared originally in the *Journal of Philology*, xi. (1882), p. 229 f. Comp. also Ew. § 293[a]; Ges.-Kautzsch, § 126. 5, rem. 1.

[2] The 'great court' was that which enclosed both the Temple and the official buildings constituting the Palace; the 'other court' was that which was entered through this, and which surrounded the actual residence of the king. Comp. the plan in Stade's *Gesch. des V. Israel*, i. p. 314 f.

denoting well-known parts of the Palace or Temple[1]: with words defined by כל (rare), Gen. 1, 21 ... כל נפש החיה הרמשת (so Lev. 11, 46[a]); ... כל נפש החיה אשר Gen. 9, 10. Lev. 11, 10; or by a numeral, Gen. 41, 26 שֶׁבַע פָּרֹת הַטֹּבֹת (followed *vv.* 26. 27 by the regular idiom)[2]. Nu. 11, 25 שבעים איש הזקנים: with a proper name, Jud. 14, 3: cases hardly reducible to rule, Lev. 24, 10 את איש הישראלי (cf.—though this depends only on the punctuation, and is followed immediately by האיש הָרָאשׁ—2 Sa. 12, 4 לְאִישׁ הֶעָשִׁיר). 1 Sa. 6, 18 אָבֵל הגדולה (read אֶבֶן). 12, 23 דרך הטובה. 16, 23 רוּחַ הָרָעָה. 19, 22 בור·הגדול (read with LXX בּוֹר הַגֹּפֶר), 2 Ki. 20, 13 שמן הטוב (in the || Isa. 39, 2 השמן הטוב) Jer. 6, 20 קָנֶה הטוב (but Ct. 7, 10 יֵין הַטּוֹב: see Ewald, § 287[b]). 17, 2. Zech. 4, 7 הר הגדול. Ps. 104, 18 הרים הגבהים ליעלים. Ezra 10, 9 הוא חדש התשיעי (the only instance with חדש in the O.T.)[3]. Neh. 9, 35[4].

(2) With a *participle*:—where the subst. is a term definite in itself, as a proper name, Dt. 2, 23 כפתרים היושבים בכפתור, or limited in virtue of its own character, Jud. 16, 27 כשלשת אלפים איש הרֹאים וגו׳. Ruth 2, 6 (read הַשָּׁבָה[5]). Nu. 28, 6 עולת תמיד העשויה. Dan. 9, 26[b], cf. with גוים, Mi. 4, 11 גוים רבים ... האמרים. Ez. 2, 3[6]; or by כל, Gen. 1, 21 (so Lev. 11, 46[a]: see under 1). 28 כָּל־חַיַּה הָרֹמֶשֶׂת על הארץ. 7, 21 כל־בשר הרומש

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[1] But יום, חצר, שער, מבוא are everywhere else construed regularly, even in the same phrases, as 1 Ki. 7, 9. Ez. 40, 17. 19, 32. 42, 1 etc., the only exception being the n. pr. חצר התיכון Ez. 47, 16.

[2] Comp. with האלה Gen. 21, 29. On some instances with הוה, cf. the writer's notes on 1 Sa. 14, 29. 17, 12. 17.

[3] But Dt. 29, 7 (cited by Kautzsch, § 126. 5, rem. 1[a]) שבט המנשי (so 1 Chr. 26, 32), המנשי is plainly a genitive: cf. Jud. 18, 1. 1 Chr. 23, 14.

[4] But Neh. 3, 6 = 12, 39 שער הישנה, there is doubtless an ellipse of some subst. before הישנה,—whether העיר, or החומה, or הברכה: cf. Guthe in the *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Pal.-Vereins*, 1885, p. 279.

[5] See Ew. § 331[b](1); Ges.-Kautzsch, § 138. 3[b]; or the writer's note on 1 Sa. 9, 24.

[6] Where, however, אל גוים should probably be omitted with LXX, Cornill.

על הארץ. Lev. 11, 46[b] כל־נפש השורצת על הארץ, or a following gen., Ez. 21, 19: other cases, 1 Sa. 25, 10. Jer. 27, 3. 46, 16 =50, 16 חרב היונה *the oppressing sword.* Ez. 14, 22[1]. 32, 22 כלם חללים הנפלים בחרב (so *v.* 24, but *v.* 23 נפלים). Pr. 26, 18. Ps. 119, 21 (if the accentuation be correct): with a passive partcp. Isa. 7, 20 תער השכירה. Jer. 32, 14 את ספר הגלוי הזה. Zech. 11, 2 Kt. Ps. 62, 4 גדר הדחויה; very anomalous (but dependent only on the punctuation) Jud. 21, 19 לִמְסִלָּה העולה מביתאל שכמה[2].

Obs. Although, after a subst. defined by an art., Heb. idiom uses regularly הַזֹּאת, הַזֶּה, הָאֵלֶּה (as הדברים האלה, הדבר הזה)[3], yet after a subst. defined by a *pronom. suffix*, it is to be noticed that the art. is not used: see Gen. 24, 8 וְנִקֵּיתָ מְשֻׁבָעָתִי זֹאת. Dt. 5, 26 לְבָבָם זֶה *this* their heart. 21, 20 בְּנֵנוּ זֶה. Josh. 2, 14 את דברנו זה. 20. Jud. 6, 14. 2 Chr. 24, 18; Ex. 10, 1 אֹתֹתַי אֵלֶּה *these* my signs[4]. 11, 8 כל עבריך אלה. Dt. 11, 18 אֶת־דְּבָרַי אֵלֶּה. 1 Ki. 8, 59. 10, 8. 22, 23. 2 Ki. 1, 13. Jer. 31, 21 *end.* Ezra 2, 65. Neh. 6, 14. The only exceptions (if I am not mistaken) are Josh. 2, 17 שְׁבֻעָתֵךְ הַזֶּה, where the *gender* of הזה is a sufficient indication that the text cannot be sound (cf. Gen. 24, 8 above); and 2 Chr. 1, 10 את־עמך הזה הנדול, where the art. may be due to the influence of the following הגדול.

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[1] Where, in view of the fact that בנים ובנות are the *objects* of deliverance in *vv.* 16. 18. 20, it seems better to vocalize, with LXX, Pesh., Symm., Vulg., Cornill, הַמּוֹצִיאִים.

[2] In 1 Chr. 25, 23 שער הפנה must doubtless be read for שער הפונה, as in the parallel 2 Ki. 14, 13.

[3] But in Phoenician זְ השער, as in Moabitish הבמת זאת: see *Notes on Samuel*, pp. xxviii, xc.

[4] Add Ex. 9, 14, where both the sense and symmetry of the verse are much improved, if, with Hitzig, we read את כל מגפתי אלה בך for את כל מ׳ אל לבך: cf. the frequency of the same combination, 'thou, thy servants, and thy people,' previously (7, 29. 8, 5. 7. 17. 25).

INDEX I.

*** The references are to the sections, except where otherwise marked.
O. = *Obs.*; *n.* = *note.*

Abstract word as predicate, 188. 2, 189. 2, 192. 2.
Accusative, 135. 6 *n.*, 161. 2 (with *n.*), 3 with *n.*, and *O.*[1], *O.*[2], 193, 194.
Aorist and perfect senses of perfect, 8 *O.*
Apposition, 186 ff.
Arabic usages, 64 *n.*, 70 *n.*, 122 *O.*, 135. 7 *O.*, 151 *O.*, 161. 1 *n.*, 2 *n.*, 163 *n.*, 175 *n.*, 176 ff., 185, 186–188, 192–194, 197, 199 *n.*, 201, 3 *n.*
Aramaic, 6 *O.*[2] *n.*, 27 *β n.*, 131 *n.*, 139 *n.*, 198 *end*, and *O.*[2], 200 *end* (with *O.*), 201. 3 *O.*, 204 *O.*[1], 208. 3 *O.*
Article with predicate, 135. 7, 199.
— uncommon use of, 209.
— not used with זה or אלה after subst. with suffix, 209 *O.*

Case-endings, survival of, 182.
Casus pendens, 123, 197.
Chronicles, idioms of, 78 *n.*, 127 *γ n.*, 128, 164 *O.*, 197. 1, 3, 202, 204.
Circumstantial clause, 156 ff.
Cohortative, 44, 45, 47, 49, 55, 58 *O.*[1], 182 *end*.
— does it = *must?* 51–53.
— of past time, 54.
— with נָ, 60 ff.
Cohortative form after נא, 69, 72.
— form in *third* pers., 45 *n.*
— form in verbs ל״ה, 47.
Continuous action expressed by participle, 31, 135. 1, 2.
'Conversive,' meaning of term, 67 *O.*[1]
Co-ordination in place of sub-ordination, p. 131, § 149 *n.*, 157, 196.
Copula, is it expressed by pronoun of 3rd pers.? 198 ff.
Counter-tone, 89 *n.*

'Descriptive' clause, 156.

'Energetic' mood, 183, 185.
Esther, 39 *β*, 133, 135. 2 *O.*, 5.

Final sentences, 41, 62–64.
Frequentative force of impf., 30, 33, 136 *δ O.*
— of pf. with *waw* consec., 113. 4, 120.

Habitual actions expressed by impf., 30, 32, 33.
Hebrew words and forms:—
אוֹ, 115, 138 *O.*
אוּלַי, 55, 115, 116.
אוֹ, 27 *β*, 115.
— in apodosis, 136 *α*, *O.*[2], 139, 141, 142.
אחר and perfect, 17.
אי מזה and imperfect, 39 *γ*.
אֵיךְ, אֵיכָכָה, 115, 116.
אין in circumstantial clauses, 159 (ואין), 164.
— with inf., 202. 1.
איננו construction of, 197. 2.
אַל, 50, 57 *end*, 62 *n.*, 115.
. . . אלה הם, 201. 3.
אלו, 139.
אם with impf., 115 f., 136, 142 f.
— with perf., 17, 138 f., 144.
— with partc., 135. 4, 137.
אם לא and perf., 14 *α*.
. . . אני הוא, 200.
אשר with impf. = inf., 39 *β*.
— = *who so*, etc., 115.

Hebrew words and forms (*cont.*)—
אשר הוא . . . , 199 *O.*
אשר לא . . . הוא, 198 *O.*[1]
אתה הוא . . . , 200.
בל, 115 (p. 133).
בלי, 162 *n.*, 164.
בעבור, 41.
הֲ, 19. 2, p. 131 f., § 116, 135. 4.
הֲלֹא, 115 (p. 132), 116.
הוא, הוא (הם) . . . ן, 169.
הוא (הם, היא) after אשר 198 *O.*[1], 199 *O.*
הוא (היא) signifying the presence of the subject, 199 *n.*
הן, 115.
הנה, והנה, 135. 3, 6, 160 *O.*
ה־ *loc.*, 53 (p. 58), 182 and *O.*
ה־ for ה־ in cohortative, 45 *n.*
ן for ן in 1 impf. Piel, 66 *n.*
ן with voluntative, 59, 60.
ן for ן·, 84 *a*, 173, 174.
ן introducing question, 119 *γ*.
ן in pred. or apod. with impf., 125, 136 *β*.
ן in pred. or apod. with no verb, 125 *O.*, 136 *δ*, 138 *γ*.
ן (ועוד, ומה, ולא, וגם, ואתה), 124, 136 *α O.*)
ן in circumstantial clauses, 157–160, 161 *O.*
ן linking together two clauses under a negative, 64 *n.*, pp. 130, 133.
ן demonstrative force of, 108 *n.*, 119, 122, p. 245.
ן· in answer to ב or כ with infin., בטרם, אם, כמו, כי, כאשר etc., 127 *β*, *γ*.
. . . והיה, 121, with *O.*[1], *O.*[2]
. . . ויהי, 78, 165 *O.*
. . . ויהי, 61–63, 121 *O.*[3]
נלא, נלאה, 149.
ולא and impf. of past, 42 *β*, 85 *n.*
ון—, p. 6 f., § 151 *n.*, 183.

Hebrew words and forms (*cont.*)—
. . . זה הוא, 201. 3.
טרם, בטרם, 27 *β*, 115.
יאמר parenthetic, 33 *α O.*
ידוע תדע, 50 *γ O.*
יום and impf., 28 *end.*
יש with infin. and ל, 202. 1.
כאשר and pf., 18.
— and impf., 33 *δ*, 115.
כי = *that*, 39 *δ*, 115.
כי = *when*, 17, 115 f., 127 *β*.
כי after an oath, 139 *n.*
כי אם, 14 *α*, 17, 115, 139 *n.*
כי עתה, 141, 142.
כמעט, 18, 115 (p. 133).
לא, 115, 116.
לא in circ. clauses, 162, 164.
לא with jussive, 174 *O.*
לא with participle, 162 *n.*
לא with infinitive and ל, 202. 2.
לבלתי, 41 with *O.*
להוי, 204 *O.*
לולי, לו, 115, 139 f., 142, 144 f.
לומר, 204 *O.*
למה, 39 *γ*, 115, 116.
למען, 41 *O.*, 55, 115, 116.
מאין and impf., 39 *γ*.
מדי, 33 *α*.
מה לעשות, 203.
. . . מי, 62 with *n.*
מי with perf., 19. 2.
מי with imperf., 37 *α*.
. . . . . expressing a wish (= *O that* . . .), p. 134.
. . . מי הוא, 201. 2.
מי יתן, 64 *O.*, 115.
מן and infin., 41.
מתי, 115, 116.
נא, 48–50, 119 *δ*.
עד of past, 27 *β*.
עד of future, 17, 115, 116.
עד אם, 17.
עד אנה or מתי with perf., 19. 1.
—עד ש, 115.
. . . צור, 169.
עורנו construction of, 197. 2.
עוד מעט ן, 123 *β*.
עקב, 115.
עת and impf., 28 *end.*
פן, 41 *O.*, 115, 116.
—ש, 115.

Hebrew words and forms (*cont.*)—
תחת אשר, 123 γ.
ת ָ, ת ֶ, 181 *n.*
ָה ָ, 182 *O.*
Hypotheticals, implicit :—
double perfect with *waw* consec., 147–149, cf. p. 131.
imperative, 150, 152.
double jussive, 152.
perfect followed by ·וַ, 153.
perfect followed by impf. alone, 154.

Imperative in poetry, 57.
— and וְ = jussive, 65.
— continued by perfect and *waw* consec., 112.
— defiant or ironical, 50 *n.*, 152.
Imperfect, inceptive force of, 21, 27, 185 (p. 244).
Imperfect (alone) :—
of past, 27, 83–85.
of present, 28.
implies reiteration, 21, 30, 32–33, 136 δ *O.*
in similes, 34.
qualifies another verb, 34 *end*, 162.
represents different English auxiliaries, 37–40.
after final conjunctions, 41, 115.
unapocopated form with jussive force, 44, 47.
ἀσυνδέτως (after pf.), 27 γ *end*, 154.
ἀσυνδέτως in circumstant. clauses, 162, 163.
Imperfect and *waw* consec. (·וַ) :—
form assumed by, 69–72.
= *and so*, 74 α.
= *and yet*, 74 β.
anticipatory use of, 75.
epexegetical, 76.
does it denote a plupf.? 76 *O.*
relating to present time, 79.
expressing a general truth, 80.
how applied to the future, 79 *end*, 81, 82.
introducing pred. or apod., 127.
in protasis, 138 ii, 139, 140.
Imperfect with simple *waw*, 84, 134.
Infinitive passing into finite verb, 113 *end*, 117, 118.
— exceptional use of, p. 176 *n.*
— position at end, 208. 3 *O.*
Infinitive and ל, with אין, יש, לא, 202.
— after subst. verb, 203.
— to express *must*, 204.
— gerundial use of, 205.
Infinitive and ול in continuation of finite verb, 206.
— as the object of a verb, 207.

Jussive form after ·וַ, 70, 71.
Jussive form, how used of past time, 83, 84 (cf. 173–175).
— difficulties in use of, 170–175.
Jussive mood :—
form, 46, 172 *O.*
in *first* person, 46 *n.*
use, 50, 56–58.
with וְ of past time, 63, 64 *O.*
with וְ after a negative, or interrogative, 64.
after מי or מה, 62.
in hypoth. propositions, 150–152.

Late usages, 127 γ *n.*, 133, 135. 1 *O.*, 4 *O.*, 6 *O.*², 175 *O.*, 201. 3, 202, 204, 206, 209.
Loan-words in Hebrew, 178 *n.*

Metheg, 89 *n.*, p. 135 *n.*
Moabitish, 67 *n.*, 181 *n.*
Modal forms, 44, 47, 183.
'Modal' perfect, 19.
'*Must*,' constructions translateable by, 39 α, 62 *n.*, 175, 204.

Nehemiah, 39 β, 78 *n.*, 133, 135. 5.
Nominative absolute, 197 ff.

Order of words exemplified, 135. 4, 160 *O.*, 208.
'*Ought*,' expressed by impf., 39 α, β.

Participle, 31, 35 *n.*, 121 *O.*¹, 126, 135, 166–169.
— passing into the finite verb, 117, 162.
— with hypoth. sense, 121 *O.* with *n.*, cf. 126, 165.
— in apodosis, 135. 3 *O.*², 136 δ, 137 δ, 143.

Participle, position of, 135. 4, 208. 2.
— accompanied by subst. verb, 135. 5.
— subject not expressed, 135. 6.
— in protasis, 137, 145.
— in circst. clauses, 160, 161. 2, 165.
— absolute, 165.
Pause, influence on tone of, 101–104.
Perfect (alone), 7 ff.
— states general truths, 12.
— states a resolve, 13.
— how used of fut. time, 14, 81.
— corresponds to English plufp., 16.
— corresponds to paullo-post fut., 17.
— in apodosis, 18, 136 γ, 138 γ, 139.
— modal, 19.
— precative, 20.
— after כִּי = *that*, 39 δ *O.*
— in protasis, 138, 139, 144.
— hypothetical, 153, 154.
— *ἀσυνδέτως* in circ. clauses, 162, 163.
Perfect with *waw* consec., 108, 109 *O.*, 111.
— alteration of tone in, 106–108. (Exceptions, 104, 110.)
— differs from יִ, 105, 117 f., p. 131.
— in continuation of imperat., 112.
— in continuation of the impf., 113.
— in continuation of the inf. abs., 113. 4 α *end*, β *end*.
— follows the impf. after various particles, 115.
— participle or inf. constr. resolved into, 117, 118.
— used alone in various senses of the impf., 119.
— used alone as a frequentative, 120, p. 162 *n.*
— in the protasis, pp. 130, 132 f., §§ 136, 138 i.
— introducing the pred. or apod., 123, 136 α, 137 α, 138 α.
Perfect with simple *waw*, 130–132.
— rare in early Hebrew, 133.
'Periphrastic future,' 204.
Person, change of, 198 *O.*², 200 *O.*¹
Phoenician, 67 *n.*, 209 *O. n.*, p. xvi.
Pluperfect, 16, 76 *O.*
Predicate, primary :—
introduced by וְ or יִ, 123–125, 127–129.
peculiarities in the form of, 188 f., 192, 198–201.
Predicate, secondary, 156, 164.
— tertiary, 195.
Present, ambiguity of the English tense, 32, 135. 2 *O.*
— may represent Hebrew perfect, 8, 10, 11, 35, 136 γ *n.*
— may represent Hebrew imperfect, 28, 33, 35.
— may represent Hebrew imperfect with יִ, 79, 80.
— may represent Hebrew participle, 135. 2.
Pronoun (personal) :—
anticipatory, 200, 201.
emphatic, 135. 6 *n.* 1, 160 *O.*, 200.
emphatic in oblique cases, 123 *O.*, 136 β* *n.*
following participle, 135. 4.
how used in predication, 197, 198.
וְהֵם, וְהוּא, etc., in circumstantial clauses, 160.
reinforces subject, 123 *O.*, 199.
Prophetic perfect, 14.

Rabbinical usages, p. 71 *n.* 1, § 135. 4 *O.*, 6 *O.*², 201. 3, 204 *O.*², 209.
Resumption, cases of, 118 *n.*, 139 *n.*, 149 *n.*, 199.
Roots distinct in Arabic, but confused in Heb., § 178 *notes*, and pp. 230–232.

Sounds, interchange of, between Heb., Aram., and Arab., 178.
Stative verbs, 11.
Synchronistic imperfect, p. 39 *n.*
Syriac, 163 *O.*, 192 *n.*, 198 *O.*², 200 *O.*¹,², 201. 3 *O.*

Tenses, origin and structure of, 6 *O.*
Tone, 3rd pf. fem. and partcp. fem. distinguished by, 13 *n.*
— drawn back after יִ, 69, 70.
— drawn back after אֶל, 70.
— thrown forward in the perf. with *waw* consec., 106–108. (Exceptions, 104, 110.)
Tone-syllable, 89–93.
— circumstances modifying position of, 99–102, cf. 132 *n.*

Voluntative, 59 ff.

Wish, how expressed, 50 γ.

RESERVED BOOK

INDEX II.

*** The references are to the sections, except where otherwise marked.
O. = *Obs.*; *n.* = *note.*

Genesis.

1, 2 ..... 188. 2
6 ..... 135. 5
14 ..... 113. 2 α
21. 28 ..... 209. 2
21. 31 ..... 209. 1
22 10
2, 2 ... 16, 76 *O.*, 149 *n.*
4 f. 124
6. 10 ..... 113, 4 β
7 195
11 ..... 135. 7
14. 19 199
16 ..... 38 α
17 ..... 39 α, 197 *O.*[1]
19 ... 38 β, 39 β, 76 *O.*
24 ..... 113. 4 α
25 ..... 42 β, 76 β
3, 5 ..... 123 β, 135. 4
8 ..... 161 *O.*[2]
12 ..... 123 γ *O.*
22 ... p. 135, § 205
4, 2 ..... 160 *O.*
6 8
7 ..... 39 α, 136 δ
10 ..... 9, 135. 2
14 ..... 121 *O.*[1]
17 ..... 135. 5
24 ..... 136 δ
6, 4 ..... 30, 113. 4 β
14 112
17 ... 135. 3, 188. 1
17 f. 113. 1
7, 2 ..... 198 *O.*[1]
21 ..... 209. 2
7, 28 ..... 209. 2
8, 17 112
9, 3 ..... 199 *O.*
6 ..... 121 *n.*
14 121
18 199
27 ..... 50 γ
10, 9 ..... 33 α
11, 1 ..... 189. 2
4 159
12, 1 ..... p. 86
2 65
3 ..... 113. 1
8 ..... 161. 1
13 ..... p. 134
19 ..... 74 α, p. 136
13, 7 ..... 135. 1
9 ..... 136 β*
15 ..... 197. 6
16 143
14, 5 ..... 190 *O. end*
10 ..... 188. 2
22 10
15, 2 160
4 ..... 123 γ *O.*, 199
6 133
12 204
13 ..... 50 γ *O.*
14 ..... 135. 3
17 165
16, 2 41
8 ..... 39 γ, 135. 2
17, 4 ..... 197. 4
9 ..... 208. 3
11. 16. 20 ..... 113. 1
17, 12 ..... 198 *O.*[1]
14 ..... 123 α
15 ..... 197. 2
18 142
19 ..... 135. 3
18, 1 ..... p. 255 *n.*
8 160
12 ..... 19, 159
17 ..... 135. 4
18 159
19 ..... p. 134
25 ..... 111, 118
26 ..... 136 α
19, 4 128
9 79
13 ..... 135. 3, 4
15 ..... 127 β
19 ..... p. 135
23 169
28 16
20, 3 160
9 ..... 39 α
16 ..... 125 *O.*
21, 7 ..... 19, 208. 4
13 ..... 197. 6
14 163
25 133
29 ..... 201. 2
22, 4 ... 127 β, p. 245 *n.*
14 ..... 33 α
16 f. ..... 139 *n.*
24 ..... 127 α
25 133
23, 6 ..... 208. 3
11 13

23, 13 142
15 198
20 .... 74 α
24, 7 ....111, 123 γ O.
8 ...50 α O., 209 O.
10. 56 159
13 f. 126
14... p. 131, § 119 δ
15 ...27 β n., 165 O.
19 17
23 .... p. 255 n.
27 ....197. 4
42 f. .... 137 α
56 159
62 .... 76 O., 160
65 .... p. 223 n.
25, 16 ....201. 3
26 159
26, 10 .... p. 133
15 ....197. 1
18 .... 76 O.
27, 8 .... 122 n.
24 75
30 165
33 .... 117, 201. 2
34 .... 127 β
45 ....p. 134, § 118
46 ....135. 4
28, 3 ....113. 2 α
6 133
13 ....197. 1
15 17
18 ....195. 2
20 f. ...p.130, § 136 α
29, 2 f.... 31, 113. 4 β
8 ....p. 135
9 169
15 .... 123 γ
30, 13 .... 14 β
15 .... 204 end
27 .... 163 O.
30 .... 127 α
33 198
41 f. 120
31, 7 132
8 ...123 β, 136 δ O.
13 .... 191 O.²
15 79
16 198
26 .... 76 α
27 .... 74 α
34 16
39 30
31, 40 .... 121 O.²
42 141
44 ....113. 2 β
49 .... 50 γ
50 164
32, 5 79
6 .... 69 O.
7 ....135. 6
9 ...p. 130, § 136 α
12. 31 ....161. 1
31 .... 74 β
33, 10 .... 119 δ
13 149
34, 5 ....133 n.
8 ....197. 2
35, 3 118
36, 14. 32 .... 76 α
37, 2 .... 135. 5, 160
3 ....133 n.
6 75
7 .... 27 γ, 135. 1
15 .... 28, 135. 6
16 ....208. 2
18 ....127 β
26 .... p. 132
38, 5 133
9 ....121, 136 δ O.
25 169
29 .... 135. 6 O.²
39, 3. 6. 23...31, 135. 2 O.
9 .... p. 130
18 118
22 ... 135. 2 O., 5, 6
40, 9. 16 .... 125 O.
10 .... p. 172 n.
14 .... 119 δ
15 .... 39 δ O.
41, 1 ....192. 1
1–3 ....135. 1
15 .... 37 α
25 .... 135. 3, 198
26 ....209. 1
42, 6 199
8. 23 .... 160 O.
11 ....197. 5
13 ....197. 2
18 ....152. 1
21 ff. 75
35 165
37 .... 38 α, 136 β
43, 7. 25 .... 39 β
9 .... 138 i α
14 .... 113. 2 α
43. 15 194
44, 3 ....166, 169
4 162
7 .... 39 γ
9. 10. 17 ...123 γ O.
12 163
22. 29 149
30 f. 121
45, 7 .... 76 α
12 ....135. 7
21–24 75
27 ....149 n.
46, 18. 25 .... 76 α
47, 6 .... 163 O., 198
9 ....192. 2
21 ....197. 6
22 120
23 .... 119 δ
29 f. .... 113. 2 α
48, 6 17
10 .... 42 α
17 ....39 β, 75
49, 4 .... 189 O.
8 ....197. 4
19. 20 .... 160 O.
21 ....135. 7
23 132
24 79
27 34
50, 5 126
15 142

Exodus.

1, 10 .....p. 135, § 121
12 30
16 118
19 .... 123 β
2, 4 .... 39 β
10 .... 75 α
13 .... 39 γ
14 ....149, 204
20 .... 122 n.
3, 3 .... 39 α
5 198
11 .... 39 δ
13 126
14 .... 38 β n.
16 112
18 149
4, 11. 14 .... 37 α
13 .... 38 β n.
14... 149, p. 202 n.
16 .... 121 O.¹

4, 19 ..... p. 86
21 ..... 123 α
23 79
31 ..... 76 β
5, 5 ..... 119 γ
7 ..... 113. 2 α
16 .....133, 135. 6
7, 9 .....152. 2
15 .....135. 6
8, 5 163
17 ..... 137 δ
20 ..... 27 γ
22 ... 124, 136 α *O.*[1]
23 ..... 38 α
9, 3 ... 135. 3, 199 *O.*
14 ..... 209 *O. n.*
15 141
18 ..... 190 *O.*
19 .....38 α, 123 α
21 ...127 α, p. 245 *n.*
31 .....188. 2
10, 3 ..... 19. 1
10 ..... 50 α
26 ..... 39 α
11, 1 ..... 76 *O.*
12, 3 125
15. 44 ..... 123 α
15 .....209. 1
16 ..... 123 *O.*, 199
39 .....195. 2
13, 15 ... 33 α, 135. 2 *O.*
18 .....161. 2
15, 1 ff. .....132 *n.*
2. 16 .....181 *n.*
5 ..... 27 α
12. 14 ..... 27 γ
16 ..... 182 *O.*
16, 6 ..... 123 β
7 ..... 39 δ, 159
21 148
23 ..... 38 β *n.*
28 19
34 ..... 127 γ
36 198
17, 1 ..... 204 *n.*
4 ..... 123 β
11 120
12 .....189. 2
18, 2 ..... p. 86
15 ..... 33 α
16 ..... 113. 4 α
19 ...152. 2, p. 202 *n.*
26 120
19, 5 ..... 136 α
19 .....30, 31
20, 10 .....209. 1
20 41
25 .....153, 195. 1
21, 8 ..... 136 β *n.*
11 164
12. 16 117
13 ..... 123 α
20 ..... p. 132
36 .....138 ii *O.*
22, 4 174
14 .....171, 175
26 ..... 39 α
30 .....188. 1
23, 1 70
8 134
9 160
22 ..... 136 α
27 ..... 189 *O.*
30 ..... p. 134
24, 5 .....188. 1
10 .....205 *n.*
14 ..... 62 *n.*
25, 9 124
18. 28. 26, 1 ...195. 1
26, 33 ..... 110. 3 *O.*
27, 16 .....192. 1
28, 17 194
28 118
32 ..... 64 *O.*
43 .....p. 133
30, 23 .....189. 1
24 .....192. 1
25 .....195. 2
33 ..... 123 α
32, 1. 29 ..... p. 86
16 198
24 ..... 62 *n.*
29 206
32 142
34 ..... 123 β
33, 7–11 ...113. 4 β, 121
10 148
11 ..... 33 *b*
12 160
16 118
19 ..... 38 β *n.*
20 .....p. 133
34, 7 ..... 117, 162 *n.*
9 .....113. 2 α
15 f. .....p. 135
28 162
34, 34 ..... 38 β
35 148
36, 1. 29 f. .....133 *n.*
38 129
38, 3 .....195. 1
24 ..... 127 α
39, 17 .....188. 1
27 191
40, 31 f. 120
36. 38 30
37 .....136 δ *O.*

Leviticus.

1, 17 162
3, 4 .....197. 6
4, 11 f. ..... 197 *O.*[2]
13 ..... 39 α
22 .....p. 130
23. 5, 1. 3...138 ii *O.*
6, 3 193
7, 7 .....197. 3
8. 9. 14 .....123 α *O.*
16 ... 124, p. 245 *n.*
19 ..... 197 *O.*[2]
20. 25 ..... 123 α
9, 6 .....39 β *n.*, 62
22 ..... p. 86
10, 6 ... 50 α *O.*, p. 133
10 f. 206
19 155
11, 10. 46 .....209. 1, 2
26. 39..... 199 *O.*
32 .....p. 134
13, 2 f. ..... 138 ii *O.*
4 .....199 *n.*
14, 43. 48 17
15, 3 154
11 .....p. 131
24 .....171, 172
29 .....110. 3 *O.*
16, 1 118
17, 3 f. p. 131, 176, § 197 *O.*
5 .....118 *n.*
15 .....p. 134
18, 5 .....p. 131
9 ..... 197 *O.*[2]
23 .....p. 224 *n.*
19, 6 .....209. 1
8 17
9 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
12 .....p. 133
20, 6 ..... 123 α
21, 3 .....123 γ *O.*

21, 10 ...p. 131, § 208. 3
22, 7 149
22 ..... 197 *O.*²
23, 2 ... 197 *O.*², 201. 3
24, 5 ...110. 4 *O.*, 195. 2
10 .....209. 1
25, 44 ...123 α *O.*, 197 *O.*²
26, 42 ..... 193 *O.*
43 62
44 13
27, 32 ..... 197 *O.*²

Numbers.

1, 19 ..... 127 γ
3, 20 .....201. 3
46 f. 124
4, 4 f. ..... 119 β
15. 20 .....p. 133
40. 44 ..... 76 α
5, 23 .....208. 4
27 ...121 *O.*², 138 ii α
6, 3 .....p. 229
7, 2 .....135. 7
13 .....188. 1
89 ..... 127 β
8, 11 203
19 ..... 69 *O.*
9, 13 ..... 199 *O.*
16–23 30
17 124
19 ..... 123 β
20 .....192. 1
10, 10 ..... 123 β
17 f. 21 f. ..133 *n.*, 148
25 ...133 *n.*, 135. 7 *O.*
28 ..... 76 α
32 ...118 *n.*, 121 *O.*¹, 123 α
11, 7 198
8 ..... 114 α
12 ..... 33 *b*, 39 δ
22 .....p. 131 f.
27 .....135. 2
29 ...119 γ *n.*, 135. 4
32 163
33 ..... 162 *n.*, 169
12, 12 ..... 127 β
14 155
14, 2 140
3 163
7 ..... 197 *O.*²
15 149
16 ..... 127 γ
14, 24 ..... 123 γ
26 f. ..... 127 α
31 ..... 123 α
33 .....135. 5
36 f. ..... 127 α
15, 39 149
16, 3 ..... 199 *end*
5 125
10 ..... 119 γ
11 .....159, 198
27 .....161. 2
17, 3 f. 195. 2
5 ..... 198 *O.*¹
19 ..... 33 α
20 ..... 121 *O.*¹
27 13
28 ..... 19. 2
18, 23 200
19, 11 ..... 123 α
13 117
20, 3 .....119 γ *n.*, 140
15 ..... 76 α
21, 8 ..... 121 *O.*¹
9 .....121, 136 δ *O.*
14 190
15. 20 .....133 *n.*
22 49
22, 5 ..... 191 *O.*²
18 .....143, 194
33 141
23, 7 ..... 27 α
10 ..... 19. 2
19 ..... 64, 132
20 149
24, 7. 19 ..... 50 α
11 ..... 39 β
14 126
17 ...14 α, 28, 113. 1
18 159
22 203
24 ..... 123 α
25, 18 ..... 135. 7 *O.*
28, 6 ..... 209. 2
31, 35 ..... 197 *O.*²
32, 19 13
23 ..... 136 γ
33, 3 ..... 76 α
34, 2 190
35, 6 124
16–18. 20 f. ...138 ii *O.*
22–24 ..... 138 ii α
23 .....162 *n.*
31 ..... 199 *O.*

Deuteronomy.

1, 20. 25 .....135. 3
30 199
44 .....33 *b*
2, 4 ..... 119 δ
9 70
12 ..... 85 *n.*
23 .....197. 1
25 .....p. 130
28 104
30 132
3, 5 .....188. 1
21 .....135. 7
22 199
4, 1. 5. 40.....135. 2
11 159
12 .....135. 1
14 .....135. 3
27 .....161. 3
29 149
30 ..... 123 β
33 ..... 74 β
35 199
42 ... 118, 135. 7 *O.*
5, 5 ..... 161. 1
21 .....38 α, 113. 4 α
23 ..... 19. 2, 74 β
24 .....p. 202 *n.*
26 ...p. 134, § 209 *O.*
6, 10f....p. 132 f., 121 *n.*
18 .....p. 134
20 f. ..... 136 α
7, 1 .....135. 2
9 ..... 119 δ
12 .....p. 135
25 .....p. 133
8, 3. 16 ..... p. 6 *n.*
12–17 .....p. 135
18 .....135. 7
18 f. 196
19 ..... p. 130
9, 3 ...161. 3, 199 and *n.*
7. 22 .....135. 5
23 ..... 127 β
10, 6 .....190 *O. end*
7 ..... 182 *O.*
9 199
12 ..... 39 β
16. 19 ..... 119 β
11, 10...110. 4 *O.*, 113. 4 β
28 .....p. 130
12, 11 ..... 121 *O.*¹
20 ..... 38 α

12, 23 199
13, 1. 14, 6 ..... 123 O.
15, 9 ..... p. 135
12 ..... 136 a
18 194
16, 21 ..... 188. 1
17, 2–4 ..... p. 131
12 ..... 123 a
15 ..... 198 O.[1]
18, 3 ..... 119 β
6 ..... 118 n.
14 ..... 197. 4
19, 4 ..... p. 131
6 159
20, 11 ..... p. 130
20 ... 123 O., 199 O.
21, 1 162
3 ..... 121 O.[1]
22, 1. 4 ..... p. 133
26 ..... p. 132
27, 6 ..... 195. 1
28, 8 ..... 58, 113. 2 a
29 ..... 135. 5
32 159
49 ..... 33 b
29, 7 ..... 209. 1 n.
30, 19 ..... 119 δ
31, 6. 8..... 199 with n.
32, 4 ..... 197. 2
7 ..... 45 n.
8 ..... 171, 174 O.
10 ..... 27 a
11 34
16 f. 30
18 ..... 171, 175
26. 29. 30 144
31 159
35 28
40 104
41 ..... 138 i β
33, 2. 20 132
3 ..... 135. 6
6 ..... 192. 2
11 41
16 ..... 45 n.
17 ..... 197. 2
27 f. ..... 82 O.

Joshua.

1, 15 ..... p. 135
2, 5 204
14. 17..... 209 O.
18 126
3, 3 124
14 ..... 159, 190 O.
4, 18 165
24 ..... 41 O.
5, 15 198
6, 8. 13 ..... 120 O.
10 ..... p. 135
7, 7 140
12 ..... 33 a
8, 11 ..... 190 O.
33 190
9, 2 ..... 161. 1
12..120O., 132, 197. 1
21 ..... 82 O.
10, 26 ..... 135. 5
13, 5 ..... 190 O.
15, 3 ff. ..... 120 O.
4 ..... p. 146 n.
63 ..... 42 a, 85 n.
16, 2. 3. 6–8 ..... 120 O.
9 ..... 189. 1
17, 9 ..... 120 O.
14 160
18, 12[b]–21 ..... 120 O.
19, 29 ..... p. 146
20. 5 ..... 136 a O.[1]
9 118
22, 3 ..... 119 β
7 ..... 127 β
17 ..... 76 a
18 ..... 155, 165
22 ..... 199, with n.
23, 10 30
24, 8 ..... 69 O.
12 ..... p. 87 n.

Judges.

1, 8. 2, 6 ..... p. 86
19 ..... 202. 2
20 ..... p. 131
35 ..... 74 β
2, 1 ..... 27 γ n.
18 ...30, 120, 136 δ O.
19 121
22 ..... 135. 4
3, 23 133
24 169
26 160
4, 20 ..... 121, p. 130
21 160
5, 1 75
3 ..... 198 O.[2]
8 ..... 27 a, 39 β
5, 26 ..... 27 a, 132
6, 3 121
4 ..... 42 a
5 ...30, 31, 114 O., 121
9 ..... 66 n., 69 O.
13 148
17 ..... 119 δ
18 ..... p. 134, 202 n.
19 163
27 75
31 ..... 50 a
36 f. ... 136 a, 137 a
7, 4 ..... 121, with O.[1]
13 ..... 133, 135. 1.
17 126
19 ..... 169 n.
8, 7. 9 ..... 123 O.
11 159
19 139
23 ..... p. 202 n.
32 ..... 190 O. end
9, 9 ..... 19, p. 132
24 ..... 208 O.
29 ... 45 n., 119 γ n.
33 126
36 ..... 135. 2, 208, 2
11, 1 ..... 76 a
8 ..... 119 δ
9 ..... 137 a
16 ..... 127 β
24 ..... 123 O.
26 128
31 ..... 121 O.[1]
12, 5 ..... 114 β
6 ..... 42 β
11. 13 ..... 208. 4
13, 5 ..... 160 O.
11 ..... 200 O.
14, 4 ..... 135. 1
10 ..... 33 a
18 ..... 139, 182
15, 3 13
7 ..... p. 133
12 ..... p. 202 n.
14 169
16, 2 ..... p. 135
14 ..... 191 O.[1]
17 ..... 138 i a
18 133
27 ..... 209. 2
31 160
17, 1 ..... 76 γ
5 ..... 197. 3

17, 6 ..... 30, 208. 3
8 ..... 38 β
9 ..... 135. 2
18, 3. 22 169
19, 9 ..... 136 γ n.
11 169
12 ..... 198 O.¹
13 ..... 113. 2 β
18 ..... 135, 4.
30 ..... 121 O.¹
20, 6 ..... 66 n.
39 f. 169
21, 19 ..... 209. 2

1 Samuel.

1, 1 ..... 190 O.
3. 4. 6 120
7 ..... 42 β
12 133
13 ..... 135. 1, 199 n.
22 ..... p. 135
28 ..... 17[illegible]3
2, 6 80
10 ..... 197. 2
11 ..... 135. 5
13 ... 31, 121 n., 123 β, 126, 188. 1
15 ..... 123 β
16 ..... 114 β, 136 γ
18. 33 ..... 161. 3
19 ..... 208. 1
21 ..... 76 n.
22 ..... 30, 133 n.
25 ..... 42, 85 n.
28 ..... 69 O.
31 ..... 123 β
36 ..... 121 O.¹
3, 2 ..... 42 α, 161. 3
7 ..... 27 β n.
11 ..... 135. 3, 197. 2
13 ..... 133, 135. 4
4, 1 190
8 ..... 201. 3
16 ..... 135. 7
20 ..... 127 β
5, 7 ..... 133 n.
6, 3 ..... 135. 6
5 ..... 119 δ
6 ..... 127 β
7 f. 112
9 ..... 201. 1
18 ..... 209. 1
7, 10 ..... 135. 5
7, 12 75
16 120
8, 12 206
9, 6 ..... 33 a
7 124
9 30
11 ..... 135. 1, 168
13 ..... 197. 6
14 169
15 ..... 76 O.
20 ..... 70, 197 O.¹
10, 5 ..... 121 O.³
7 ..... 121 n.
8 ..... 50 γ O., 118
9 133
11 78 n., 121 n., 135. 6
12 ..... 119 γ n.
14 ..... 149 n.
19 ..... 199 O.
11, 11 ..... 78 n.
12 ..... 62 n.
15 ..... 188. 1
12, 2 132
8 ..... 127 β
14 ..... p. 130
16 ..... 135. 3
20 ..... 113. 2 α
23 ..... 209. 1
13, 13 141
17 ..... 42, 163 O.
21. 22 ... 114 β, 120
14, 6 ..... 161 O.²
9. 10 ..... 17, 136 α
19 ..... 127 α
21 ..... 206 O.
24 ..... p. 86, 134
30 ..... 141 bis
33 205
36 ..... 46 n., 50 α O.
43 ..... 39 α
52 ..... 114 β
15, 1 ..... 208. 1
2 13
17 ..... 76 α
23 ..... 127 γ
33 ..... 208. 4
16, 2 ..... p. 135, § 149
7 ..... 33 b
14 ..... 133 n.
23 ..... 120, 209. 1
17, 20 ..... 123 α
23 169
24 ..... 127 α
17, 26 ... 39 δ O., p. 131
34 f. 110. 2 O., 133 n., 148
38. 48 133
56 ..... p. 202 n.
57 ..... 127 β
18, 5 ..... 30, 163 O.
23 160
19, 2 ..... 135. 4
3 149
11 ..... 135. 3, 137 δ
22 ..... 209. 1
20, 2 ..... 12, 159
4 62
5 ..... 39 α, 119 δ
19 ..... 163 O.
20 ..... 205, 208. 3
22 17
23 ..... 127 γ
33 ..... 199 n.
36 ..... 135. 3, 169
21, 6 ..... 127 β, 189 O.
10 ..... 136 β*
12 30
22, 23 ..... 189 O.
23, 6 ..... p. 86, 90
13 ..... 38 β
20 ..... 204 n.
22 ..... p. 202 n.
26 ..... 135. 5
24, 11 ..... 133 n.
12 118
13 ..... 113. 2 α
14 ..... 33 b
16 ..... 119 δ
20 ..... 123 β
25, 6 ..... 189. 2 n.
10 ..... 209. 2
11 ..... 119 γ
20 133
21 ..... 76 O.
27 ..... 119 δ, 123 α
34 139
26, 9 ..... 19, p. 132
14 ..... 201. 2
22 ..... 122 n.
27, 4 Kt. ..... 42 β, 85 n.
9 ..... 42 α, 133 n.
28, 16 ..... p. 223 n.
29, 8 ..... 104, p. 132
10 ..... 121 n.
30, 16 ..... 135. 6
22 125

2 Samuel.

1, 6 ..... 135. 1
10 ..... 66 *n.*
22 30
2, 23 ..... 78 *n.*, 121 *n.*
24 169
27 139
28 ..... 42 *β*
32 ..... 191 *O.*²
3, 6 ..... 135. 5
8 79
9 ..... 139 *n.*
13 ..... p. 202 *n.*
17 ..... 135. 5 *n.*
33 ..... 39 *β*
34 ..... 162 *n.*
4, 10 ..... 69 *O.*, p. 132, § 127 *a*, 204
5, 1 ..... 197. 5
8 ..... 33 *a*, 76 *O.*
24 ..... 17, 121 *O.*³
6. 14 f. 135. 1
16 133
22 ..... 123 *O.*
23 ..... 197 *O.*¹
7, 9ᵇ ..... 119 *a*
11 133
14 ..... 123 *β*
28 200
9, 10 104
10, 5 ..... p. 135
7 190
11, 4 ..... 169 *n.*
19 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
20 ..... 33 *a*
12, 4 ..... 209. 1
8 ..... 136 *β*
16 ..... 113. 4 *β*
18 ..... 30, p. 130
21 ..... p. 205 *n.*
22 ..... p. 134
28 ..... p. 135, 202 *n.*
31 120
13, 18 ..... 133, 159
19 ..... 113 *end*
20 ..... 161 *O.*¹
23 ..... 192. 1
26 149
28 118
34 ..... 135. 1
14, 5 ..... 76 *a*
10 ..... 123 *a*
14 41
14, 19 ..... 202. 1
25 205
26 120
15, 2. 5 ..... 114 *β*, 120
4 ..... p. 134
6 ..... 38 *β*
18. 23 ..... 135. 1
20 ..... 38 *β n.*
27 ..... 135. 4
33 ..... 110. 4 *O.*, 138 i *α*
34 ..... 125 *O.*
37 ..... 27 *γ*, 85 *n.*
16, 4 10
13 ..... 133 *n.*
17, 3 ..... 189. 2 *n.*
11 10
12 46*n.*, 50*a O.*, 174 *O.*
13 ..... 136 *β* n.*
16 70
17 ... 42, 120, 135. 1
26 ..... 191 *O.*²
27–29 ..... 208. 3
18, 3 ..... 39 *β*
11 ... 119 *γ n.*, 204 *n.*
12 145
13 144
14 ... 50 *α O.*, 174 *O.*
22 ..... 122 *n.*, 152. 3
27 ..... 135. 2
19, 2 80
7 139
10 ..... 135. 2 *n.*
19 ..... 74 *β*, 133 *n.*
25 ..... 190 *O.*
30 10
41 ..... 127 *a*
20, 6 ..... 41 *O.*, p. 136
8 169
12 ..... 133 *n.*
21 ..... 135. 3
23 ..... 190 *O.*
21, 3 65
4 ... 39 *β n.*, 202. 1
5 f. 197. 2
22, 38 54
41 ..... 125 *O.*
23, 3 f. ..... 125 *O.*
4 164
6 ..... 197. 2
10 ..... 27 *γ*
24, 2 112
5 ..... 190 *O.*
13 194
24, 24 ..... 192. 1

1 Kings.

1, 1 42
12 65
22 169
41 ..... 16, 160
52 ..... 136 *a*, *β*
2, 5 ..... 76 *a*
6 50*a O.*, 119*δ*, 174 *O.*
16. 20 ..... 135. 2
18 ..... p. 202 *n.*
20 70
31 ..... 110. 5 *O.*
44 ..... 119 *a*
3, 2 ..... 135. 2 *O.*
4 30
11 133
22. 26 ..... 135. 1
4, 7 120
5, 1 ..... 135. 5, 191 *O.*
7 120
8 ..... 38 *β*
28. 6, 8 30
7, 7 ..... 39 *β*, 161 *O.*¹
8 ..... 27 *γ*, 209. 1
10 ..... 192. 1
13 ..... 76 *γ*
15 ... 42*a* (cf. 30), 195. 1
26 30
51 163
8, 1 ..... p. 77 *n.*, xvi
5 ..... 37 *β*
8 42
27 ..... 37 *a*
28 ..... 119 *δ*
30 149
32. 34 124
33. 60 118
41 ..... 198 *O.*¹
44–49 ..... 136 *a*
47 132
63 ..... 208. 4
9, 20 f. ..... 127 *a*
25 120
10, 5. 16 30
9 ..... 127 *γ*
21 ..... 162 *n.*
28 ..... 197 *O.*²
11, 15 ..... 76 *a*
26 ..... 127 *a*
12, 8 ..... 135. 7
17 ..... 127 *a*

13, 2 .....135. 3
12 ..... p. 87
18 163
24 .....135. 5
31 ..... 123 β
33 63
14, 5 ..... 121 O.³
6 ..... 161 O.²
17 .....166, 169
28 ..... 113. 4 β
15, 13 ..... 127 α
16, 21. 24 190
17, 4 ..... 121 O.¹
6 31
18, 4 120
6 163
10 ..... 37 β, 148
12 .....121, 126, 145
13 ..... 76 α
18 118
24 ..... 121 O.¹
27 ..... 62 n.
32 ..... 194, 195. 2
39 199
19, 5 ..... 135. 3 O.¹
20, 6 ..... 121 O.
27 132
28 ..... 123 γ
33 ..... 27 γ, 85 n.
36 126
40 .....135. 5
21, 1 78
6 ... 27 γ, cf. 114 β
11 .....135. 7
22, 12 .....113. 2
20 .....135. 1
27 .....189. 1
28 ..... 198 O.²
44 ..... 135. 2 O.

2 Kings.

1, 4 .....197. 1
10 ..... 119 γ n.
2, 3 .....135. 3
10 .....50 α end
14 ..... 127 α
16 ..... 41 O.
23 169
3, 4 .....120, 194
14 145
25 ..... 113. 4 β
27 ..... 39 β
4, 13 ..... 202. 1, 203
4, 24 17
41 .....122 n.
5, 2 .....161. 3
6 ..... 119 β
13 .....144, 208. 2
17 149
20 ..... 14 α, p. 133
6, 10 ..... 114 α
12 ..... 37 α
27 .....152. 3
32 128
33 169
7, 2 .....p. 132 n.
4 ..... 138 i α
9 126
13 .....122 n., 190
19 ..... 119 γ n.
8, 1 ..... 38 β n.
5. 21 165
13 ..... 39 δ
21 .....165 and O.
29 ..... 27 γ
9, 10 159
27 .....197. 6
31 ..... 198 O.²
10, 2 159
6 ..... 161 O.²
12 f. .....169 n.
15 149
23 ..... 41 O.
11, 1 129
5 .....125 O.
7 ..... 123 α
12, 7 165
12–17 ...113. 4 β, 120
13, 14 ..... 39 β
19 ..... 141, 204 n.
20 ..... 27 γ
14, 10 ... p. 133, § 119 γ
16, 14 .....127 α, 191
17 .....188. 1
17, 28 ..... 39 β
19, 2 ..... 161 O.²
25 63
20, 4 .165 and O., 209. 1
8 ..... p. 87
9 ..... 19, 39 α
13 .....209. 1
22, 13 ..... 199 O.
17 ..... 123 γ
18 f. ..... 127 γ
23, 17 ..... 191 O.²
25, 3. 22 ..... 127 α
25, 19 ..... 199 O.

Isaiah.

1, 2 ..... 132, 160 O.
7 ..... 135. 2, 197. 1
9 139
11. 18 ..... 33 α O.
13 ..... 197 O.³, 198
15. 18 143
21 30
23 ..... 33 α
2, 2 .....121, 135. 5
8 36
9 ..... 57, 82
11 ..... 113. 1, 132
20 ..... 190 O.
3, 1 .....135. 3
7 159
16 f. ...33 α, 36, 123 γ
17 .....208. 3
24 .....188. 1
26 ..... 163 O.
4, 3 ..... 121 O.¹
4 17
5, 4 203
5 ..... 135. 3, 203
8 ..... p. 135
11 ..... 33 α, 163
12 ...35, 113. 4 α, 188. 2
13. 25 ..... 14 α
15 .....36, 82
17 .....208. 2
19 ..... 45 n.
23 117
24 118
25 81
27. 28. 30 ..... 14 γ
30 ..... 190 O.
6, 1 ..... 127 β
2 ...30, 31, 113 end
5 ..... 13, 208. 1
7 ..... 119 α
11 17
11 f. ..... 17, p. 134
13 .....149, 203
7, 14 .. 113. 1, 135. 3, 200
20 .....209. 2
23 30
8, 7 124
8 ..... 14 γ, 132
9 .....152. 1
10 .....152. 2
13 .....123 γ O.

9, 1–6 ..... 14 α
1 .....197. 1
2 ..... 33 *b*
4 ..... 123 α
5 81
7 133
10–15 .....36, 82
18–20 .....36, 81
19 132
10, 2 118
4. 28 36
5 ..... 201. 1 *O.*
7. 19 192
13 ..... 84 α
22 143
25 ..... 123 β
28–31 ..... 14 α
32 204
11, 8 ..... 14 γ, 109 *O.*
9 ... 14 β, 135. 7 *O.*
10 .....197. 2
14 ..... 190 *O.*
12, 1 ... 84 β, 171, 174
2 .....181 *n.*
5 ..... 135. 3 *O.*²
13, 9 118
17 .....135. 3
14, 2 ..... 135. 5, 7 *O.*
8 ..... 33 *a*
10 36
17 117
21 .....p. 133
27 .....135. 7
15, 2. 3. 4 36
6. 8. 9 ..... 14 β
7 .....197. 1
16, 4 .....197. 2
12 17
14. 17, 14..... 123 β
18, 5 . 14γ, 109*O.*, 123 β
19, 6 ..... 14 γ, 132
11 .....189. 2
13 .....208. 4
17 .....197. 2
20 .....'25
20, 6 .....p. 202 *n.*
21, 1 205
2 ..... 14 β
7 149
8 .....161. 3
11 .....135. 6
14 ..... 14 β, γ *O.*
16 ..... 123 β
22, 16 ..... 198 *O.*²
17 ..... 190 *O.*
23, 1. 4. 14 ..... 14 β
7 30
15 159
18 ..... 189 *O.*
24, 1 ..... 135. 3 *O.*
2 .....135. 6
9 36
12 .....185. 2, 197. 2
22 .....161. 3
25, 8. 12 ..... 14 γ
9 63
26, 1. 7. 18 .....195. 2
3 .....135. 6
6 .....161. 1
9 35
10 155
11 ..... 30, 197. 1
15 ..... 20 *n.*
16 ...p. 6 *n.*, § 161. 1
27, 2 .....197. 2
3 ..... 33 *a*
4 ..... 64 *O.*
5 .....171, 175
6 ..... 50 α
9 163
10 ... 113. 4 α, 189. 2
28, 2 ..... 14 α
13 .....p. 134
26 133
28 .....p. 133
29, 4 ..... 163 *O.*
8 ...p. 132, § 135. 6
11 f. .....p. 131
13 163
15. 21 ..... 117 *O.*
16 ..... 39 δ *O.*
17 ..... 123 β
20 ..... 14 β, 132
30, 7 .....189. 2
14 34
19. 32 ..... 14 γ
20 .....135. 5, 189. 1
24 .....135. 6
26 118
33 .....188. 2
31, 2 80
4 ..... 33 *b*
32, 6 ..... 33 *b*
7 .....197. 2
8 .....208. 3
15 .....p. 134
33, 1 .....161. 2
4. 5 .....135. 6
6 199
7 35
10 ..... 33 *a O.*
14 ..... 14 β
34, 12 ..... 125 *O.*
16 ... 14 β, 123 γ *O.*
35, 1 f. ..... 50 α
4 ..... 46 *n.*
36, 6 .....p. 131
8. 16 ..... 191 *O.*²
11 .....135. 4
21 .....199 *n.*
37, 5 ..... p. 86
7 .....135. 3
16 200
26 ..... 129, 195 *O.*
27 132
29 ..... 123 γ
38, 10 52
19 ..... 123 *O.*
20 204
21 f. ..... p. 87
39, 1 ..... 76 β
40, 1. 25 ..... 33 *a O.*
6 .....133 *n.*
12 132
14 ..... 85 *n.*
19 ..... 35, 135. 6
20 34
22 .....135. 7
24 80
25 64
26. 28. 29 ..... 33 *a*
29 ..... 135. 6 *O.*¹
30 ..... 38 α, 134
31 ..... 33 *b*
41, 2 ..... 64 *O.*
4 200
6 ..... 33 *a*
17 .....135. 2
22 198
23 ..... 46 *n.*
28 ...46 *n.*, 64, 152. 3
42, 6 ... 46 *n.*, 171, 174
14 ..... 34, 163 *O.*
21 ..... 163 *O.*
24 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
43, 4 ..... 13, 125
8 159
9 ..... 20 *n.*
12 132

43, 14 ..... 13, 113. 1
19 .....135. 3
22 ..... 39 δ *O.*
25 200
26 .....p. 202 *n.*
28 .....66 *n.*, 84 *a*
44, 12 ..... 35, 123 *a*
14 ..... 204 *O.*
15 ..... 113. 4 *a*
16 f. 134
20 ..... 161. 3 *O.*²
25 117
28 206
45, 1 118
4 ... 27 *a*, 127 γ, 159
46, 1 f. ..... 14 *a*
5 64
47, 1 164
1. 5 ..... 163 *O.*
8 ..... 198 *O.*²
10 ..... 118, 123 *O.*
11 162
12 ..... 50 *a n.*
48, 3 ..... 174 *n.*
5 ..... 127 γ
7 ... 128, p. 245 *n.*
8 ..... 39 β
13 .....135. 4
18 f. 140
20 f. 81
49, 5 118
6 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
7 ..... 76 *a*
15 ..... 37 *a*
19 ..... 197 *O.*²
21 .....160, 198
50, 2 ..... 64 *O.*, 84 *n.*
8 ..... 62 *n.*
9 .....201. 2
51, 2 ...27 *a*, 84 *a*, 174 *n.*
11 ..... 14 γ
12 .....34, 79, 200
19 .....201. 1
22 .....197. 6
52, 10 .....113. 1
15 .....p. 227 f.
53. 2 .....64, 81
4. 7. 12 160
6 200
7 ..... 13 *n.*
9 81
54, 1. 11 ..... 198 *O.*²
10 .....143 *n.*
54, 14 57
55, 2 .....152. 1
10 ..... 33 *b*, 132
13 34
56, 4 .....p. 131
6 206
6 f. ..... 123 *a*
57, 3 ..... 117 *O.*
11 ..... 39 δ
12 124
17 .....84 *a*, 174 *n.*
19 .....161. 2
58, 10 ..... 155 *O.*
14 ..... 136 *a O.*²
59, 2 .....135. 5
10 52
11 ..... 33 *a*
12 .....197. 1
15–17 82
16 ..... 123 *O.*
21 .....197. 4
60, 8 .....201. 2
9 .....161. 1
11 159
15 ..... 123 γ
61, 1 f. 10 f. 34
62, 1 34
63, 3–6 ...84 *a*, 171, 174
5 ..... 123 *O.*
19 140
64, 1 .....118, 208
4 ..... 76 β
65, 4 .....188. 2
7 ..... 123 *a*
8 ..... 33 *b*, p. 132
20 .....161. 3
24 124
25 .....197. 1
66, 7 ..... 123 γ
9 ..... 104, 119 γ

Jeremiah.

1, 11. 13 .....135. 2
12 .....135. 4
2, 11 9
17 ..... 135. 6 *O.*²
22 ... 135. 3 *O.*², 143
24 .....197. 1
28 .....188. 2
3, 1 .....p. 132
25 52
4, 2 104
7. 30 163
4, 13 13
16 82
19. 21 53
5, 22 .....39 β *n.*, 42 β
28 64
6, 4 28
14 80
15 ..... 14 *a*
17 ..... 114 β, 120
19 ..... 127 *a*
20 .....209. 1
28 198
7, 6 57
10 ..... 113. 4 *a end*
13 f. ..... 123 γ
25 ..... 127 β
27 ..... 119 β
32 124
8, 1 125
3 17
5 190
9, 3. 4 ..... 33 *b*
11 62
10, 18 ..... 110. 5 *O.*
11, 15 ..... p. 240 *n.*
18 ..... 69 *O.*
12, 3 ..... 113. 4 *a*
13, 7 ..... 42 *a*
10 125
16 .....p. 132, § 163
27 ..... 197 *O.*²
14, 4 ..... 161 *O.*²
16 .....135. 5
18 ..... 138 i γ
22 200
15, 6 .....82, 163 *O.*
11 ..... 14 *a*
17, 5. 7 .....p. 131
10 206
18 ... 194, p. 202 *n.*
21 .....p. 130
18, 4 .....114 β, 148
23 .....135. 5
19, 12 206
20, 8 ..... 33 *a*
9 .....113. 4 *a*, 148
15 163
17 74
21, 5 ..... p. 202 *n.*
9. 22, 14 117
22, 23 ..... 19. 1
23, 5 .....161. 2
14 ... 41 *O.*, 113 *end*

23, 18 64
22 144
24 ..... 123 α
31 f. 117
39 ..... 119 α
24, 2 ..... 37 β, 188. 2
25, 15 .....189. 1
26 ..... 191 O.[1]
29 .....119 γ n.
31 .....135. 2
27, 8 ..... 197 O.[2]
9 ..... 199 O.
11 ..... 123 α
18 ..... 41 O.
28, 2 ..... 14 α
8 ..... 127 α
29, 23 200
30, 14 118
31 .....201. 2
31, 2 .....208. 4
40 .....188. 1
32, 4 .....208. 3
9 ..... 69 O.
12 ..... 190 O.
14 .....209. 2
33, 5 .....135. 6
24 ..... 127 α
34, 18–20 .....118 n.
36, 14 .....197. 1
18 43n., 50α O., 174 O.
37, 10 143
16 f. ..... 127 β
38, 6 ..... 191 O.[2]
9 79
14 ... 135. 4, 209. 1
19 79
23 .....135. 6
26 .....135. 4
40, 3 129
15 .....p. 133
42, 16 f. ..... 121 O.[2]
44, 14 206
16 ..... 197 O.[2]
22 ..... 85 O.
25 ..... 127 α
26 ..... 161 O.[2]
46, 16 .....209. 2
48, 19 ..... 117 O.
32 ..... 191 O.[2]
33 ..... 14 γ
38 .....189. 2
49, 9 ..... 138 i γ
12 ...119 γ n., 200 O.
49, 19 55
50, 15. 51, 6 .....199 n.
21 .....197. 6
31 ..... 14 α
51, 14 .....p. 133
29 82
33 ..... 123 β
35 ..... 33 O.
49 204
53 143
58 ..... 123 α
52, 7 ..... 85 n.
20 .....188. 1

Ezekiel.

1, 13 ..... 197 O.[2]
18 ..... 125 O.
26 ..... 197 O.[1]
2, 2 ..... 162 n.
3 .....209. 2
7. 8 ... 189. 2 with n.
3, 3 ..... 50 γ O.
17 149
19 ..... 138 ii γ
20 118
21 17
25 ..... 14 α
26 104
4, 12 .....197. 4
5, 11 124
16 f. 118
7, 10 ..... 135. 6
8, 6 .....135. 4
12 .....135. 6
9, 2 .....209. 1
8 ..... 69 O., 78 n.
10, 10. 22 ..... 197 O.[2]
11, 15 ..... 201. 1 O.
12, 12 125
25 ..... 38 β n.
13, 3 ..... 41 O.
7 .....135. 6
22 206
14, 7 ..135. 2 n., 171, 172
9 ..... 136 δ
15 ..... p. 133, § 143
22 .....209. 2
15, 5 ..... 123 β
16, 7 .....189. 2
10 ..... 66 n.
15 ..... 64 O.
19 129
27 193
16, 31 118
38 ..... 189 O.
43 124
47 ..... 127 γ
60. 62 .....p. 202 n.
17, 4 ..... 163 O.
10 .....p. 132 n.
15 149
19 ..... 123 α
24 ..... 119 α
18, 3 .....202. 1
10 149
13 ..... 119 γ, 149
24 ..... 123 O.
26 f. ..... 118 O.
19, 3. 5 ..... 163 O.
13 .....135. 6
20, 5 ..... 127 β
11. 13 ..... p. 131
39 ..... 50 α n.
21, 9 13
22, 2 ..... 119 δ
3 117
18 .....188. 1
23, 25 .....208. 3
24, 5 ..... 14 γ O.
11 ..... 163 O.
24 ..... 123 β
26, 21 ..... 189 O.
27, 21 ..... 123 O.
34 ..... 135. 6 O.[2]
36 ..... 189 O.
28, 16 82
29, 7 ..... 113. 4 α
30, 16 203
31, 11 125
12 82
33, 3 149
6 ..... 136 γ
13 ..... 123 O.
18 ..... 123 β
22 ..... 76 O., 209. 2
25 f. .....119 γ n.
31 125
34, 20 ..... 188. 1 n.
36, 13 ..... 135. 6 O.[2]
18 118
35 .....161. 2
38, 9 205
17 ..... 200 O.
39, 15 149
40, 5 ..... 192. 1
17 ..... 135. 6 O.[3]

40, 28. 31 .....209. 1
36 ..... 133 *n.*
41, 18 f. ..... 135. 6 *O.*[3]
43, 19 ..... 199 *O.*
21 .....188. 1
44, 6 .....189. 2 *n.*
12 ..... 113. 4 *β*
45, 11 .....192. 2
16 ... 190 *O.*, p. 254
46, 19 ..... 191 *O.*[2]
23 ..... 135. 6 *O.*[3]
47, 4 .....192. 1
10. 22 ..... 121 *O.*[1]
15 ..... 191 *O.*[2]

Hosea.

2, 1 ..... 37 *β*
3, 1 160
4, 3 ..... 113. 4 *α*
6 .....125, 127 *γ*
7 ..... 27 *γ n.*
8 .....195. 2
11 ..... 33 *b*
12 f. ..... 33 *a*
14 34
5, 15 .....p. 134
6, 1 ...84 *β*, 171, 173 *n.*
4 159
9 ..... 190 *O.*
7, 1 35
7 ..... 113. 4 *α*
8, 7 ..... 182 *O.*
12 ..... 155 *O.*
13 ..... 197 *O.*[2]
9, 8 .....197. 2
13 204
10, 10 125
13 ..... 182 *O.*
11, 1 ..... 127 *β*
4 .....171, 174
5 198
12, 12 ..... 136 *γ*
13, 6 ..... 127 *β*
11 ..... p. xvi
15 143
14, 6. 7 ..... 50 *α*
10 62

Joel.

2, 3 ff. 36
10 ..... 14 *γ*
18 f. ..... 82 *O.*
20 ..... 171, 175 *O.*
2, 23 81
4, 21 104

Amos.

1, 8 ..... 104. 5 *O.*
11 ..... 79, 118
3, 8 154
4, 2 ..... 123 *β*
4 .....50 *α n.*
7 ... 113. 4 *α n.*, 114 *α*
13. 5, 8 .....195. 2
5, 6 ... p. 135, § 152. 1
7 117
8 . 117 *O.*, 135. 6 *O.*[1], 195. 2
14 62
19 .....p. 132
22 143
26 ..... 119 *α*
6, 1. 3. 6 ..... 117 *O.*
10 .....202. 2
7, 1 .....135. 6
2 133
4 120
8, 4 206
9, 2–4 ... 113. 3, 143

Obadiah.

1, 10 104
16 18

Jonah.

2, 4. 4, 5 ... p. 86, 88 f.
3, 4 124

Micah.

1, 2 ..... 198 *O.*
7 .....195. 2
10 Kt. ...20, cf. 14 *γ*
2, 1 ..... 198 *O.*[2]
2 ..... 113. 4 *α*
11 144
13 81
3, 1 .....204 *n.*
4 .....171, 174
5 ..... 123 *α*
9 ..... 198 *O.*[2]
5, 2 17
7 ..... 138 i *α*
6, 14 ..... 155 *O.*
7, 3 198
9 .....p. 134

Nahum.

1, 12 .....154 *n.*
3, 7 ..... 121 *O.*[1]
11 .....135. 5

Habakkuk.

1, 2 19
5 ..... 135. 6 *n.*
9. 10 ..... 82 *O.*
11 132
17 204
2, 1 .....49 *β*, 54
10 ..... 161 *O.*[1]
3, 8 193

Zephaniah.

1, 17 ..... 110. 5 *n.*
2, 12 ..... 198 *O.*[2]
13 .....171, 172
3, 5 .....162 *n.*

Haggai.

1, 9 ..... 199 *O.*

Zechariah.

1, 3 ..... 119 *β*
9 .....201. 2
13 .....189. 1
2, 8 .....163. 3
3, 7 124
4, 7 .....209. 2
7, 2 ..... p. 87
6 .....135. 7
8, 10 ..... 66 *n.*
23 .....118 *n.*
9, 5 58
15 ..... 14 *γ*
10, 6 18
7 ..... 50 *α*
8 ..... 38 *β n.*
11, 2 .....209. 2
13 ..... 69 *O.*
14, 10 .....188. 1, 209. 1
17 .....p. 245 *n.*

Malachi.

1, 2 ..74 *β*, 119 *γ*, p. xvi
4 ..... 38 *α*
11 ..... 135. 6 *O.*[3]
2, 14 ..... 119 *γ*, p. xvi
15. 16 ..... 119 *β*
3, 9 ..... 198 *O.*[2]

Psalms.

1, 2 ..... 33 *a*
3–6 ..... 33 *b*
2, 1 ..... 8, 35
6 .....p. 201
7 9
12 116
3, 3 .....135. 2, 182 *O.*
6 ..... 33 *a*, 69 *O.*
7 8
8 9
4, 2 ..... 9, 20
4 .....122 *n.*
7 .....135. 2
5, 5. 6. 7 ..... 33 *b*, 35
8 ..... 37 *a*
6, 7 35
9 f.....14 *β* with *n.*
10 .....208. 3
7, 3 159
7 ..... 20, 163
9 ..... 33 *b*
13 ..... 14 *γ*, 35, 80
16 ..... 12, 27 *a*
8, 4 ..... 136 *δ*
5 ..... 79 *n.*
6 77
7 ..... 84 *β*
9, 10 62
10, 3 12
5 . 33 *a*, 189. 2, 197. 2
10 ...113. 4 *a*, 161. 2, 190 *O.*
14 ...33 *b*, 135. 5, 208. 3
15 .....197. 2
11, 2 ..... 14 *γ*, 33 *a*
3 19
4 ..... 33 *b*, 197. 2
5 ..... 208. 1, 3
6 ..... 58, 171, 172
7 35
12, 4 ..... 58, 171, 172
9 ..... 38 *a*
13, 6 ..... 50 *a*, p. 201
14, 6 ..... 33 *a*
7 ..... 50 *a*
15, 1 ..... 37 *a*
4 ..... 33 *a*
16, 3 ..... 198 *O.*[1]
9 35
17, 2 ..... 33 *b*
3 ..... 34, 162
17, 5 8
12 28
14 ..... 113. 4 *a*
15 ..... 49 *β*
18, 4 ..... 27 *a*
7. 8. 9 etc.... 84 *β*, 85
26–28 ..... 33 *b*
29 ..... 33 *a*
30 ..... 37 *a*
31 .....197. 2
33. 48 .....135. 7
34. 35 117
38 .....14 *a*, 174 *n.*
19, 2 f..... 43
10 .....189. 2
11 .....135. 7
14 .....104, p. 130
20, 4 ..... 45 *n.*
7 13
9 132
21, 2 70
13 ..... 189 *O.*
22, 6. 15 133
16 35
22. 30 ...14 *a*, 20 *n.*, 81
27 ..... 50 *a*
29 .....135. 6
23, 4 143
5 ..... 35, 188. 2
25, 9 ...84 *β*, 171, 173 *n.*
11 ..... 123 *γ*
14 206
26, 1 ..... 34, 162
3 .....133 *n.*
4. 5 35
6 .....55, 66 *n.*
12 ..... 14 *a*
27, 2 132
3 143
28, 1 ..... 104, p. 135
3 159
6 ..... 14 *β* and *n.*
7 133
29, 10 79
30, 4 9
7. 8 16
9 ..... 27 *a*
12 ..... 14 *β* and *n.*
31, 7 .....p. 201
8 f. ..... 8 *O.*
23 16
32, 4 ..... 8 *O.*
8 .....161. 1
32, 9 204
33, 5 .....135. 6
15 .....135. 7
34, 6 ..... 58, 133
8. 21 .....135. 2 *O.*
11 132
13 f. ..... 62 *n.*
22 .....208. 4
35, 6 .....189. 2
8 ..... 162, 197. 6
15 f. ..... 8 *O.*
19 ..... 193 *O.*
36, 13 ..... 14 *a*
37, 10 .....123 *β*, 153
12 .....31, 135. 2 *O.*
14 f. ..... 27 *γ*
24 143
40 134
38, 17 .....14 *γ*, 116 *O.*[3]
39, 3. 10 ..... 8 *O.*
6 .....195. 2
12 153
40, 6 ... 155 *O.*, 202. 1
41, 3 57
4 ..... 14 *a*
7 ..... 138 i *β*
13 79
42, 2 34
5 .....30, 52
44, 3. 11 ..... 84 *β*
5 200
10 .....42 *β*, 85 *O.*
18 159
19 f. ..... 39 *δ O.*
21 f. 144
27 ..... 182 *O. bis*
45, 2 .....135. 2
7 ..... 194 *O.*
9 .....188. 2
12 .....152. 4
46, 5 .....197. 2
7 ..... 27 *γ*
10 ..... 113. 4 *a*
47, 4 ... 84 *β*, 171, 173
48, 4 9
8 ..... 33 *b*
49, 7 .....135. 7
10 63
11 .....33 *b*, 113. 4 *a*
15 ..... 80 *n.*, 204
50, 3 58
6 .....82 *O.*, 198
16 118

50, 18 ..... 127 β
20 ..... 163 O.
21 ..... 104, 119 γ
51, 5 ..... 208. 2
16 ..... 152. 2
18 64
52, 3 ..... 194 O.
9 ..... 33 a
55, 3 52
7 ..... 64 O.
13 64
15 30
18 ..... 52, 54, 82 O.
20 ..... 161 O.¹
22 ... 159, 160, 189. 2
56, 4 28
57, 4 163
5 52
58, 5 ... 171, 172, 174 O.
59, 5 164
16 ..... 127 γ
60, 5 ..... 189. 1
11 19
13 159
61, 8 ..... 64 O.
62, 4 ..... 209. 2
10 204
63, 7 ..... 138 i β
8 ..... 182 O.
64, 8–10 82
9 ..... 161. 1
11 ..... 113. 2 a
65, 9 ..... 33 b
66, 6 54
18 144
68, 15 ... 171, 172, 174 O.
17 ..... 188. 1
31 ..... 14 γ O.
69, 4 ..... 161 O.²
33 ... 27 γ, 50 a, 125
71, 3 ..... 20, 163
7 193
17 ..... 33 a
21 ..... 50 γ O.
72, 8. 13. 16. 17 58
73, 2 18
11 ..... 113. 4 a
14 ..... 74 β, 135. 5
15 139
16 ..... 66 n.
17 54
75, 3 ..... 136 β
76, 8 ..... 198 O.²
77, 4. 7 ..... 52, 54
17 ..... 27 γ end
78, 6 34
20 ..... 43, 85
26 ..... 84 β
30 f. 169
34 ..... 136 δ O.
38 ..... 113. 4 a
80, 3 ..... 182 O., bis
5 19
13 ..... 133 n.
81, 7 85
9 142
14–17 145
16 63
83, 15 34
84, 4 12
85, 11 [not 15, 11] .. 14a
14 ..... 171, 174
87, 3 ..... 135. 6 O.³
88, 5 164
16 53
19 ..... 189. 2
89, 31–33 ..... 136 a
48 ..... 189. 2
90, 2 ..... 27 β n.
3 ..... 84 β
5. 9 12
6 ..... 113. 4 a
17 ..... 62, 197
91, 14 125
92, 8 118
9 ..... 189. 2
11 f. ..... 82 O.
13 34
16 ..... 182 O.
94, 10 ..... 135. 7
17 139
18 ..... 138 i β
23 82
95, 7 142
10 ..... 30, 31
99, 6 f. 30
102, 28 200
103, 5 163
104, 4 ..... 195 O.
9 ..... 39 β n.
18 ..... 209. 1
20 ..... 70, 152. 3
21 206
25 164
32 ..... p. 217 n.
105, 22 118
106, 43 30
107, 13 ..... 127 a
29. 33 ..... 84 β
40 ..... 135. 5 O.
43 62
109, 4 ..... 189. 2
10 ..... 113. 2 a
16 206
28 .. 38a, 81, p. 202 n.
110, 3 ..... 189. 2
5 ..... cf. 14 a
115, 7 124
116, 15 ..... 182 O.
118, 19 ..... 152. 2
119, 6 142
17 ..... 152. 2
21 ..... 209. 2
87 18
117 ..... 47 n.
163 ..... 66 n.
120, 1 ..... 182 O.
3 ..... 189. 1
7 ..... 189. 2
121, 3 58
122, 2 ..... 135. 5
124, 1–3 139
4 ..... 182 O.
125, 5 ..... 197. 1
128, 5 65
132, 12 ..... 136 β
137, 9 ..... p. 131
138, 3 ..... 127 β
139, 3 ..... p. 224 n.
8. 9 143
16 ..... 159, 208. 1
19 142
20 ..... p. 223 n.
140, 9 ..... 64 O.
141, 5 ..... 123 β
142, 4 128
143, 7 ..... p. 130
12 ..... 113. 2 a
144, 3 79
12 ..... p. 232
146, 4 ..... 152. 3
147, 18 151

Proverbs.

1, 27 118
2, 1 142
2. 8 118
5 ..... 136 a O.²
3, 3 f. 152. 1

3, 7 f. 9 f. 152. 2
24 149
25 57
28 159
4, 8 .....152. 2
5, 10 ff. .....p. 135
14 18
6, 10 f. ..... 123 β
16 .. ..201. 1
22 .....154 *n.*
32 .....199 *n.*
7, 7 .....54, 84 β
16 .....p. 232
8, 25 ..... 27 β *n.*
29 ..... 39 β *n.*
30 .....189. 2
35 15
9, 7 .....121 *n.*
12 ..... 138 i β
14 .....113. 4 β
16 ..... 123 α
10, 1. 2. 3 etc. ..... 33 *b*
5. 17 ..... 135. 2 *O.*
25 ..... 125 *O.*
11, 2 ..... 80, 153
28 .....199 *n.*
12, 19 55
26 .....171, 173 *n.*
13, 3 .....121 *n.*
14, 31 15
15, 25 ... 84 *a*, 171, 174
16, 29 .....113. 4 α
17, 13 .....121 *n.*
18, 10 ..... 113. 4 α
13 ... .121 *n.*
24 204
19, 19 ..... 136 α *O.*[1]
24 154
20, 13 .....152. 1
22 ..... 62, 152. 2
25 .....152. 3, 204
28 ..... 113. 4 α
21, 22 9
22, 3 132
21 .....189. 1
29 154
23, 1 ..... 50 γ *O.*
8 104
24, 8 .....197. 3
10 154
11 142
14 .....45 *n.*, 138 i γ
27 ..... 123 β
24, 28 ..... 19. 2
25, 4 153
16 154
26, 2 205
15 154
27, 12 154
14 .....121 *n.*
17 .....p. 217 *n.*
28, 27 ...p. 147 *n.*, 171 *n.*
29, 6 ..... 113. 4 α
9 ..... 121 *n.*, 126
30, 9 ..... 104, p. 135
15. 24 .....201. 1
25–27 79
31, 6 f. ..... 155 *O.*

Job.

1, 4 f. .....114 β, 120
14 .....135. 5
15 ff. ..... 69 *O.*
18 f. 169
2, 3 79
3, 3. 11 ..... 27 α
11. 13 ..... p. 217 *n.*
12 ..... 39 δ
13 .....141, 142
17 35
19 .....200 *n.*
20 ..... 39 γ
25 ..... 85 *n.*, 153
4, 2. 21 154
3 f. 30
5 80
6 ..... 125 *O.*
7 .....201. 2
12. 15 .....27 *a*, 85
19 ..... 33 *b*
5, 2. 6 etc. ..... 33 *b*
5 ..... 113. 4 α
11. 20. 23 ..... 14 γ
15 80
22 57
24 ... 104, 189. 2 *n.*
6, 2 f. 142
8 .....p. 134 *n.*
11 ..... 39 δ
16 .....135. 7
17 28
21 80
7, 2 34
4. 13 f. ..... 138 i α
4 ... 104, 110. 2 *O.*
8 153
7, 12. 17 ..... 39 δ
15 79
18 ..... 114 β
20 154
8, 4–6 142
6 .....113. 3
9 ... 189. 2, 194 *O.*
11 ..... 36 α, 164
12 .....162, 169
20 154
22 .....197. 2
9, 4 . 9, 19. 2, 64, 161 *O.*[2]
11 ..... 33 α
15. 16 144
17. 31 .....113. 3
20 153
25 162
26 34
27 f. ..... 136 γ
29 ..... 39 α
30 f. . 136 α *O.*[2], 138 i β
33 ..... 64 *O.*
10, 3 ..... 39 β
8 79
14 ..... 138 i α
15 ..... 39 α, 138 i β
16. 17 .....152. 3
18. 19 ..... 39 β
19 18
22 ..... 182 *O.*
11, 5 ..... p. 134 *n.*
10 116
13 f. .....138 i β*
16 ..... 34 *n.*
17 ..... 45 *n.*, 152. 3
18 163
20 35
12, 3 .....162 *n.*
4 ..... 39 α
17. 19 ff. ...135. 6 *O.*[1]
22–25 80
24 164
13, 9 ..... 39 β
16 ..... 37 α
19 .....142, 201. 2
27 ... 84 α, 171, 174
14, 7 ..... 136 α *O.*[1]
10 ..... 76 β
11 ..... 113. 4 α
15, 7 ..... 27 α, 161. 3
13 .....p. 132
17 .....125, 152. 4
28 ..... 39 α

15, 31 ..... cf. 58
33 .....171, 174
16, 4 143
6 ..... 138 i β, 143
8 ... 163 *n.* and *O.*
15 132
17, 2 .....171, 175
6 ..... 39 α
15 .....197. 1
18, 9. 12 .....171, 173
11 132
19, 3 ..... 163 *O.*
4 154
16 ..... 39 α
18 .....127 γ *n.*
20 ..... 69 *O.*
23 ..... p. 134 *n.*
25 .....161. 3
20, 12–14 ..... 136 γ
15 80
17 58
18 124
23...171, 173 *n.*, 174
24 .....152. 3
25 .....161. 1
26. 28 ...171, 173 *n.*
21, 9 ..... 189. 2 *n.*
16 ..... 20 and *n.*
22 160
31 154
22, 8 .....197. 3
12 .....189. 2
13 104
16 .....195. 2
18 160
21 ..... 45 *n.*
28 ..... 14 γ, 152. 3
29 .....153 *n.*
23, 2 .....189. 2
3 .....p. 134 *n.*
7 135. 2 *n.*, 3 *O.*[2], 142
8 f. ..... 33 α
9. 11 .....171, 175
10 154
12 124
13 153
24, 5 .....161. 3
10 164
14...163 *n.*, 171, 175
22 159
24 154
25 .....171, 172, 173
25, 2 ..... 161 *O.*[2]
25, 5 124
26, 2 164
13 .....189. 2
27, 8 ..... 171, 174 *O.*
19 .....153, 161. 3
22 .....171, 174
28, 2 .....195. 2
4 .....135. 7
25 ..... 14 γ
28 199
29, 2. 3. 7 etc. 30
11 153
16 197
24 162
30, 3. 4 .....135. 7
6 204
22 ..... 163 *O.*
26 ... 66 *n.*, 127 γ *n.*
28 163
31, 10 .....p. 189 *n.*
14 124
26 ...136 δ *O.*, 161. 3
28 141
29 ..... 104, 113. 4 β
34 ..... 34 *end*, 162
32, 6 .....p. 227
8 .....p. 271 *n.*
16 ..... 104, 119 γ
22 ..... 142, 163 *O.*
33, 11. 21. 27..171, 173 *n.*
17 118
19 ..... 113. 4 α, 159
23–25 ..... 138 ii γ
34, 6. 24 164
8 ..... 113. 4 α, 206
18 .....202. 1
29. 37 .....171, 174
31 8
35, 15 124
36, 7. 9 ..... 127 γ
10 ..... 39 β
14 .....171, 175
15 ..... 171, cf. 174
37, 15 118
20 ..... 9, 39 β
38, 24 ..... 171, cf. 173
26 164
31. 34 f. 37
39, 26 .....171, 175
40, 17 .....p. 226
19 .....171, 175
32 .....152. 1
41, 3 64
41, 7 .....161. 3
18 ... 121 *n.*, 135. 6
42, 3 ..... 42 β
5 16

Song of Songs.

2, 3 ... 133 *end*, 163 *O.*
17. 4, 6 .....p. 134
3, 2 54
4 .....42 β, 85 *n.*
5, 2 ..... 161 *O.*[2]
6, 8. 9 .....201. 1
8, 2 .....188. 1
7 143

Ruth.

1, 11 .....p. 132
12 ..... 39 δ *O.*
21 159
2, 22 ..... 39 β
3, 3 ..... 119 δ
4 ..... 121 *O.*[3]
4, 3 13
5 124
15 ..... 199 *O.*

Lamentations.

1, 10 ..... 39 β
18 .....201. 1
19 63
2, 13 ..... 64, 190
3, 37 ..... 19. 2
50 ..... 171, 172
55–58 ..... 8 *O.*, 20
4, 14 ..... 163 *O.*
17 ..... 193 *n.*
5, 3 164

Qohéleth.

1, 10 ..... 201. 3
11 ..... 197 *O.*[1]
16 ..... p. 202 *n.*
17 .....133, 201. 3
2, 23 .....189. 2, 201. 3
24 .....p. 136
3, 13 .....p. 136
15 .....198, 204
21 ..... 190 *O.*
4, 1. 7 133
2 ..... 199 *O.*
8 .....159, 201. 3
5, 4 ..... 39 β

5, 5 .....p. 133
14 ..... 70, p. xvi
17 ..... 190 *O.*
18. 6, 2.....201. 3
6, 10 .....201. 1 *n.*
7, 18 ..... 39 *β*
25 206
26 ..... 199 *O.*
8, 16 f..... p. xvi
9, 1 206
14 f. 9
10, 10 ..... 138 i *β*
11 ..... 136 *δ*
20 ..... 174 *n.*
11, 3 ..... p. xvi
12, 1. 2 ..... p. 134
3 ..... p. 136
4 .....174 *n.*
7 .....171, 174

Esther.

1, 22 .....135. 5
2, 10 ..... 39 *β*
14 etc. 133
3, 13. 8, 11 ...203. 3 *O.*
4, 2 .....202. 1
11 .....p. 135
13 207
5, 3. 6 62
9 ..... 127 *β*
7, 4 139
8 ..... 204 *end*
8, 6 ...p. 130, § 163 *O.*
9, 1 200
1 f. .....157 *n.*
21 .....135. 5
27 f. ... 39 *β*, 118 *n.*

Daniel.

1, 5 .....118 *n.*
5. 8 ..... 39 *β*
10 .....p. 133
18 ..... 127 *β*
20 ... 127 *γ*, 197 *O.*[2]
2, 9 ..... 201 *O.*
28 198
38 ..... 200 *O.*
3, 15 ..... 201 *O.*
16. 4, 15 ...208. 3 *O.*
4, 16 .....p. 223
27 ..... 201 *O.*
5, 13 ..... 200 *O.*
25 .....p. 232 *n.*
6, 5 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
9 .....202. 2
c. 8–12 ..... 69 *O.*
8, 4. 7. 11 ... p. 162 *n.* 3
8. 18 .....p. 157 *n.*
12 ...171, 174, p. xvi
13 190
14 .....p. 135
22 ..... cf. 76 *a*, 117
25 ..... 123 *γ*
9, 5 .....p. 163 *n.*
20 f. 169
23 .....189. 2
26 .....209. 2
10, 1. 7 ..... p. 162 *n.* 3
2. 3 .....192. 1
4. 9 128
9 ..... p. 157 *bis*
11. 15 .....p. 157 *n.*
17 ..... cf. 209 *O.*
11, 2. 4 .....p. 157 *n.*
4. 10 etc.. 171, 175 *O.*
8 .....193 *n.*
17 .....p. 228 *n.*
12, 7 .....p. 157 *n.*
8 ..... 42 *β*
11 ..... cf. 206
12 117

Ezra.

2, 62 190
63 ..... 39 *β*
3, 10 etc. 133
4, 22 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
5, 4 ..... 201 *O.*
9. 13 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
11 ..... 200 *O.*
6, 8 .....202. 2
7, 27 ff..... 69 *O.*
9, 1. 3. 5 . 78 *n.*, p. 157 *n.*
4 ..... 27 *γ*
15 .....202. 1
10, 1 ..... p. 157 *n.*
7 f. .....118 *n.*
8 ..... 39 *β*
9 .....209. 1
12 ... p. 275 *n.*, 276
13 .....188. 2

Nehemiah.

c. 1–2 etc..... 69 *O.*
1, 4 etc.....135. 5
1, 8 155
2, 5 ..... 39 *β*
9 ..... p. 87
12 .....192. 1
18 ..... 199 *O.*
3, 6 .....209. 1 *n.*
15 .....p. 225
5, 18 .....135. 5
6, 6 .....182 *n.*
10 .....135. 6
7, 5 190
65 ..... 39 *β*
8, 13 206
14 f. ..... 39 *β*
9, 3. 37 .....135. 6
6 200
7 ..... 200 *O.*
7 f. 133
27 30
29 .....197 *O.*[1]
35 .....209. 1
10, 36–39 .....118 *n.*
37 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
13, 1. 19. 22 ..... 39 *β*
13 .....204 *n.*
19 ..... 64 *O.*

1 Chronicles.

2, 30. 32 164
5, 1 .....202. 2
9 190
6, 34 206
8, 6 .....201. 3
9, 25 204
26 .....201. 1
10, 13 206
11, 20 ..... p. 270 *n.*
12, 1 ..... 161 *O.*[2]
8 205
15 .....201. 3
33 206
15, 2 .....202. 2
19 .....188. 1
16, 7 .....127 *β*
17, 17 ..... 119 *γ*
21, 15 .....p. 157 *n.*
17 ... 200 *O.*, 204 *n.*
18 ..... 39 *β n.*
28 ..... 127 *β*
22, 1 .....201. 3
5 .....204, 205
7 .....197. 4
14 .....192. 1

23, 14 ..... 197. 2
25 79
26 ..... 202. 1
28, 5 ..... 127 γ
18 193
21 ..... 125 *O.*
29, 17 207

2 Chronicles.

1, 10 ..... 209 *O.*
2, 7 ..... p. xvi
8 206
3, 4. 11 ..... 192. 2
4, 2 ..... 192. 1
5, 2 ..... p. xvi
11 ..... 202. 1
13 ..... p. 157 *bis*
7, 1 ... 78 *n.*, p. 157 *bis*
13 f. ..... 136 α *O.*[1]
17 206
8, 7 f. ..... 127 β
13 204
16 ..... 190 *O.*
10, 5 ..... p. 152 *n.*
11, 22 204
12, 7. 12 ..... p. 157 *n.*
12, 11 ..... 114 α
12 204
15 ..... 194 *O.*
13, 1 ..... 127 β
3 190
5 ..... 204 *n.*
9 ..... 123 α
14, 8 190
10 ..... 202 *n.*
15, 1 ..... 197. 2
8 ... 78 *n.*, p. 157 *n.*
12 f. ..... 118 *n.*
16, 9 ..... 197. 2
18, 12 ..... 122 *n.*
19, 2 ..... 204 *end*
10 ..... p. 133, 151
20, 6 ..... 200, 202. 1
14 ..... 197. 2
20 ..... p. 157 *n.*
21, 9 165
17 ..... 200 *O.*
22, 7 ..... 197. 4
9 ..... 202. 1
23, 19 63
20 ..... 209. 1
24, 11 ..... 30, 78
24, 14 ..... p. 157 *n.*
20 ..... 127 γ
25, 8 ..... 152. 2
9 ..... 202. 1, 203
13 ..... 127 α
14 30
23 ..... 209. 2 *n.*
27 ..... 127 β
26, 5 204
16 ..... p. 157 *n.*
19 ..... p. 157 *bis*
28, 2 ..... 197. 4
21 ..... 204 *n.*
22 ..... 127 β
23 ..... 201. 3, 204
29, 27. 29 ..... p. 157 *n.*
30, 9 206
31, 7. 10 ..... 208. 3 *O.*
34, 25 125
35, 15 ..... 202. 1
36, 19 204

Mark 13, 25 ... 135. 5 *n.*
Rom. 13, 8 ..... 15 *n.*
2 Pet. 2, 15 ..... p. 230
Rev. 11, 11. 20, 9 ... 82 *n.*

THE END.

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